16 PAGES
IS 600

POSTMASTER
Send address changes to:
Al-Fajr
[illegible]
Washington, D.C.
[illegible]

AL FAJR
JERUSAI
PALESTINIAN WEEKLY
(USPS [illegible])

exp. 86/04
Serial Records Division
Harvard College Library
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

SEPTEMBER 20, 1985
VOL.VI,NO. 231

One Gaza Youth Shot Dead

Army Continues Provocation Campaign

Left: An Israeli soldier checks the IDs of bus passengers outside al-Ama'ri refugee camp. Right: Israeli soldiers stop taxis and buses to conduct random body searches on West Bank residents./John Egan photos.

by Khalil Touma

For the second week in a row, Israeli regular army units stormed through the West Bank and Gaza Strip as part of the new Israeli 'iron fist' policy. Reports of arbitrary shootings and humiliating measures were heard from various parts of the occupied territories. At week's end, the toll was one shot dead and more than 10 others injured. A wave of increased resistance came as a result.

In Gaza City, Munther Awad, 18, was shot dead early in the evening of September 17, when an army patrol opened fire at four youths in the main street of Omar al-Mukhtar. Military sources said the youth refused to obey their orders to stop. On September 18, Jamal Awad, 17, from the Nusseirat refugee camp in Gaza was shot four times on the same pretext. He was taken to Ashifa Hospital in Gaza City before being transferred to Beer Sheba Hospital for treatment. He is reported to be in a serious condition.

Two other youths from Gaza were injured September 12 in the city. Rafat Subuh, 20, was shot in his left shoulder and injured in the head by flying shrapnel. Mohammed Rimawi, 20, was shot in the right leg, causing his bone to splinter.

The West Bank, including occupied East Jerusalem, witnessed similar attacks by the army. In the Jerusalem neighbourhood of Sheikh Jarrah, six persons on an Arab bus were injured when a reserve soldier shot at the bus (see separate story). Another Palestinian, Ishaq Dass, 22, was also injured the same day in the nearby neighbourhood of Shu'fat. He was injured when bullets fired from a passing car hit him in the leg while sitting on the balcony of his home near the street. He believes the shots came from a car carrying Israeli settlers.

The centre of Dheisheh refugee camp near Bethlehem was placed under siege September 13 for nearly three hours as soldiers harassed a 60-year-old camp resident and fought off angry crowds. Soldiers arrived at the home of Hassan Mana'a, 60, a resident of the 12,000-person camp, where they had been only three days before to arrest him. Soldiers forced Mana'a outside the house and around the corner to a spot near the side wall. He was then ordered to dig in the earth. Mana'a refused unless he was told the reason. Instead soldiers forced him to begin digging. Two plastic bags containing unidentified objects were then uncovered, but Mana'a insisted he had no prior knowledge of them. Observers report that during the episode police photographers were kept busy photographing the whole process. Mana'a was then led away by police.

Mana'a, who is a well-known and respected figure in the camp, was partially paralysed from an attack last year by Israeli agents. He also suffers from several other illnesses. His two children — Ata, 21, and Yusef, 17, were in jail at the time. Yusef was released September 16 and given a hero's welcome in the camp.

Sources report that during the harassment of Mana'a crowds of angry men and women confronted the soldiers. Several were beaten harshly. After his arrest, however, neighbours and camp dwellers hurried to show their solidarity with the family.

Dheisheh camp was once again the scene of fierce clashes with the army September 17. Refugees demonstrated in the narrow alleyways of the camp denouncing Israeli measures and the collective arrests of camp residents. Army soldiers and vehicles were stoned and one soldier was reported injured. Furious soldiers then broke into the houses, beating and arresting residents. Checkposts increased on the main roads and thorough searches of vehicles and their [illegible]

Round-the-clock patrols by paratroopers, border police and intelligence were seen in various areas. Some refugee camps were condoned off and placed under curfew.

Resistance acts and clashes with the army were reported all over the West Bank.

The Amari refugee camp near Ramallah was placed under curfew September 16 and 17. Israeli soldiers were stoned and a fire bomb was hurled at an army patrol. Jalazon camp dwellers were also subjected to army attacks September 17. Said Khamis, 18, was reportedly beaten unconscious and nearly died according to camp residents. Residents say he was saved by women of the camp who hastened to wrest him from the hands of the army.

The main road into the small Qadourah refugee camp was closed September 15. Searches were conducted and a number of youths in the area were arrested. An army patrol had been reportedly stoned.

Unprecedented Israeli harassment was also reported in the cities, towns and villages of the occupied territories. Paratroopers and border police accompanied by attack dogs roamed the streets and public places. A number of humiliating actions were reported.

In Ramallah, long lines of residents were ordered to stand for long periods on one leg while

(Continued on page 12)

Sabra and Shatila 5
Beit Safafa 7
Housing Conditions in Gaza 8+9
Israeli Press Debates Repression 10
Palestinian Americans 16

Gaza [illegible] begins a four part series on the Gaza Strip. This week on page 8&9

IN LEBANON

Camp War Subsides as Fighting Elsewhere Rages

Palestinians in Lebanon commemorated this week the third anniversary of the Sabra and Shatila massacre with marches in the refugee camps. The two-week-old battle around Burj al-Barajneh camp in southern Beirut between the Lebanese Shi'ite Amal movement and Palestinian fighters simultaneously subsided this week following the deployment of a Syrian-sponsored observation force in the camp.

Lebanon nevertheless witnessed a week of intense fighting in the northern port city of Tripoli between pro- and anti-Syrian groups claiming the lives of more than 60 and wounding 200. The Tripoli fighting coincided with inter-factional combat across the 'green line' separating Muslim West from Christian East Beirut. Many people were reported killed or wounded.

In the southern regions of the war-torn country, a suicide car attack on a joint South Lebanese Army and Israeli post reportedly claimed more than 30 fatalities and injuries, along with the car's driver. A communique by the Lebanese National Resistance Front said Mohammed Awad Masri, member of the Socialist Nasserite Union, blew himself up September 17 at a military post manned by the Israeli-backed SLA killing and wounding 30 persons. The communique said the car was loaded with 300 kilogrammes of explosives and 10 mortar shells.

At the same time katyusha rockets fell September 16 on the Upper Galilee inside Israeli territory. An Israeli military spokesperson said the rockets fell on empty ground and caused no damage. He also said they were the kind used by Palestinian commandos.

In West Beirut, hundreds of Palestinian refugees laid wreaths September 16 at the mass graves in Sabra and Shatila camps where close to 3000 of their relatives and friends are buried. The refugees were commemorating the third anniversary of the mass murder at Sabra and Shatila September 16-18 in 1982 at the hands of Lebanese Phalange forces backed by the Israeli army. Relatives of the murdered refugees wore black while children were seen crying over the graves in memory of dead family members.

At Ein al-Hilweh refugee camp in the southern port city of Sidon, hundreds of Palestinian students marched through the camp September 15 to commemorate the third anniversary of Sabra and Shatila. Press reports from the camp said the marchers walked through the camp carrying posters saying "We will avenge the killing at Sabra and Shatila" and "The revolution will continue until victory in spite of the massacres."

Burj al-Barajneh refugee camp, which falls near Sabra and Shatila, was relatively quiet most of this week. A Syrian supervising force along with members from the warring Palestinian defenders of the camp and Amal militias patrolled the camps and its outskirts to make sure a ceasefire agreement signed last week would continue to hold. The fighting, which began September 3, left more than 60 dead and 150 wounded. Reports from Burj al-Barajneh said the situation is still tense because of the large number of Palestinian refugees missing or found murdered. The bodies of two Palestinian civilians were found September 16 near Beirut airport, an area which falls under Amal control. The two dead were earlier reported to be kidnapped from Burj al-Barajneh camp. Another 45 Palestinian civilians from Harisk neighbourhood in West Beirut are still missing. They come from the same building where 19 Palestinians were killed in cold blood last week by Amal militias. Hundreds of refugees are said to be leaving Burj al-Barajneh camp to safer places. The refugees anticipate more fighting around the camp, press reports said.

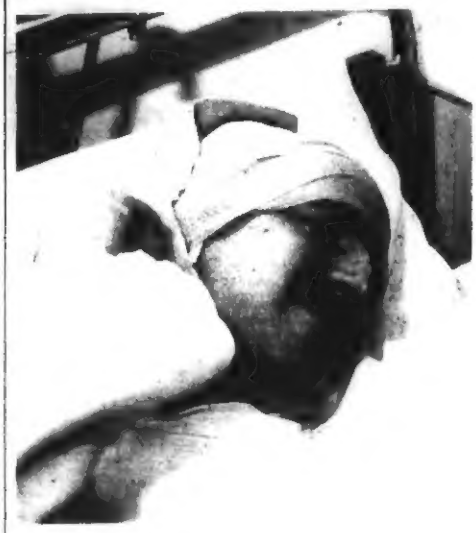
Fierce fighting continued for the fifth day in Tripoli, north Lebanon, between the anti-Syrian Muslim Unification Movement and the Syrian Arab Democratic Party. The fighting, which started September 15, has already created 60 dead and 200 wounded. It also led to the mass departure of civilians from the war zone to other parts of the city.

While fighting continued in Tripoli, the capital, Beirut, also witnessed inter-factional fighting between the East and West parts of the city. Tanks and mortar were used in the shelling. Fighting concentrated around the 'green line.' Reports from Beirut said five people were killed and more than 30 wounded in fighting September 17.

Militias from the Druze Progressive Socialist Party (PSP) also shelled the eastern parts of the city, especially the Lebanese Defence Ministry at el-Yarzeh and the presidential palace at Ba'abda. The Lebanese army returned fire by shelling PSP posts in the Shouf Mountains. The presidential palace was damaged in the September 17 shelling while the Defence Ministry which was shelled September 18 remained intact.

In another development, a spokesperson for the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) in Tunisia revealed this week that an Israeli naval force intercepted last September 12 a ship after it left Beirut seaport. The spokesperson said the Israelis arrested a number of the Lebanese and Palestinian citizens on the boat and towed the ship to Haifa seaport. The spokesperson said this is the eleventh Israeli sea piracy off the Lebanese coast or in international waters.

A Palestinian resident of Burj al-Barajneh and her children carry away their belongings from the camp on their way to safer shelter/AFP photo.



Arab Bus Attacked, 6 Injured

An Arab bus carrying a full load of 50 passengers was attacked Thursday September 12 by an Israeli soldier who suddenly opened fire at the bus, wounding six people. The six were treated at Maqassed hospital and later released.

The bus, owned by the Ram Bus Company, was on its way from Jerusalem to the suburb Ram at about 7:30 pm. A barrage of nearly 20 bullets was suddenly fired directly at the bus as it neared the French Hill, not far from the Israeli Police Headquarters in the Sheikh Jarrah neighbourhood. The driver reportedly continued to drive a short distance before stopping and helping to transfer the injured to Maqassed hospital on the Mount of Olives. Police reportedly arrested the reserve soldier and held him for questioning before releasing him 48 hours later.

Reports in the Israeli press quote the soldier as saying that he mistook a bottle thrown from the bus as a firebomb. He says he first shot in the air, at the bus tyres, and then at the passengers. An Israeli officer was also quoted as saying that the soldier had behaved in accordance with orders to respond immediately at any attempt to break security. He said the execution of orders is not considered wrong and therefore does not deserve punishment.

The Arab bus driver was quoted in the Israeli daily Hadashot as clearly testifying during interrogation that he did not notice anyone throwing a bottle or anything else from the bus. He did not know what had happened, he said.

Bahjat Zaal, the Manager of the Ram Bus Company, told *Al Fajr* that he believes nothing was thrown from the bus. The passengers, he said, believe that the soldier who shot at the bus must have done so from behind some trees which line the street. They reported that the street itself was empty at that time, he said, making the soldier's attack premeditated and not as a response to anything hurled from the bus. "It is not the first time that our buses are harassed. Every year our buses are stoned, but apparently this year those attackers thought stones were not enough," he said.

Zaal criticised Israeli police for not taking the matter seriously. "They used to tell us to go and catch the attackers ourselves," Zaal said. He added, "It is like seeing the wolf but still looking for the killer of the sheep."

Jordan Urges Thatcher - PLO Meeting

Jordanian officials will reportedly urge British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to meet a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation during her visit to Amman beginning September 18, *Al Fajr* has learned.

According to reliable Palestinian sources, the British Prime Minister earlier agreed to see the joint delegation after its meeting with US Special Envoy Richard Murphy. But with Murphy's meeting uncertain, Jordanian and Palestinian officials hope Thatcher will reconsider and meet them before Murphy does.

According to *Al Fajr's* sources, the British PM has agreed to meet a delegation consisting of members of the PLO Executive Committee Mohammed Milhem and Rev. Elia Khoury. On the Jordanian side, the joint delegation is to consist of Jordan's Foreign Minister Taher al-Masri and Deputy Prime Minister Abdel Wahab Majali.

الدرب

السلطات تعبر عن نيتها ايقاف صدور الدرب

The latest issue of *Al-Darb*

Authorities Intend to Close al-Darb

The new Jerusalem newspaper *Al Darb* has been threatened with closure this week. Dr Hanna Hallaq, editor-in-chief of the five-month-old paper, said he received a letter September 11 from Jerusalem Commissioner Rafael Levy which indicated the Israelis are considering the paper's possible closure. Hallaq met with the commission on the matter September 18.

In the letter, Levy said he was authorised by Article 94 of the Emergency Regulations of 1945 to order the paper closed. He said he was studying the feasibility of such action after hearing a report that the paper was being funded by the PLO faction Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP).

During their September 18 meeting, Hallaq says he denied the allegations by Levy. He said he presented copies of the paper and financial records as evidence. Hallaq, who was accompanied to the meeting by his lawyer Elias Khoury, said the financial records proved his paper was in destitute condition and therefore was not the recipient of DFLP funds.

In a statement published September 15, the editorial board of the *Al Darb* said the attempted closure comes as part of an organised campaign to silence the Palestinian voice.

The closure attempt has provoked local response. Tens of local and foreign journalists and representatives of local institutions, including the Arab Journalists Association, gathered at *Al Darb* opposite Damascus Gate to express their solidarity. Hallaq denied the authorities' allegations in a speech to those gathered. He said that only 18 editions of the paper have been published so far and that all materials published have been approved by the military censor. Hallaq said the closure attempt is meant to satisfy settlers.

The action was also condemned by MK Tawfiq Toubi of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE) who sent a letter of protest to the concerned authorities demanding they stop the attempt immediately.

In a statement published in the Israeli daily *HaAretz*, 44 Israeli academicians also denounced the attempted closure.

In a special comment to *Al Fajr* the secretary of the Arab Journalists Association, Radwan Abu Ayash, said that the Israeli step is within a preordained plan to forbid the Arab press from expressing the opinion of their people.

The Israeli Journalists Association refused to comment on the attempted closure. The secretary of the Association Gideon Eshed told *Al Fajr* that the association will hold a meeting September 22, to discuss the matter.

Al Darb is licensed for daily circulation in Jerusalem and Israel. It is prohibited from the West Bank and other occupied territories. It has been publishing so far only on a weekly basis. The first edition was published on May 4 of this year. It's editorial policy has taken a line of opposition to the Amman agreement signed between King Hussein of Jordan and PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat.

18 Palestinians Deported to Jordan

The Israeli military deported 18 former Palestinian political prisoners to Jordan after the Israeli High Court upheld their deportation orders. The former prisoners were transported blindfolded September 14 to Araba valley in the Naqab desert where they spent most of the day and night. By early September 15, the 18 men were ordered to cross into Jordan.

The 18 deportees were among 1150 Palestinians released from Israeli jails last May 20 in an exchange of prisoners between Israel and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command. Of the 1150, over 600 chose to stay in the Israeli-occupied territories. Israel has maintained that more than 30 of the released prisoners who remained in the West Bank and Gaza did not possess papers making them legal residents. Residency in the West Bank and Gaza was determined by a census conducted by the Israelis immediately following the 1967 war. Those outside of the country at the time were not included in the census and thus are not allowed to stay in the occupied territories.

The Israeli military informed the 18 men early in August that they would be deported within days. Their exit, however, was delayed when 12 of the former prisoners appealed their deportation orders to the High Court. The other six did not contest the orders. The Red Cross also asked Israel for time to locate new homes for the released prisoners.

Attorneys Felicia Langer, who represented two of the released prisoners, and Lea Tsemel, who represented the other 10, argued in court that deporting their clients would violate the agreement Israel signed for exchange of the prisoners. They also argued that their clients had been present in the occupied territories after 1967 even though some of them were not included in the census. The Israeli prosecution, however, argued that the former prisoners targeted for deportation had infiltrated into the occupied territories and therefore could not be considered 'legal residents.' The High Court agreed on September 12 to uphold the deportation orders.

In an interview with the Jordanian news agency, *Petra*, the deportees said the Israelis took from them all their personal identification papers as well as other papers proving ownership of property in the occupied territories. They said they were kept in the Araba valley at the crossing point blindfolded and handcuffed for a long time without food. The Israelis did not permit the Red Cross to see them, according to the former prisoners.

This is the first time since 1974 that Palestinians have been deported to Jordan through the Araba valley. Jordan had a policy of not allowing Israel to deport Palestinians to its territories and therefore all the deportees after 1974 were sent to Lebanon.

The High Court is also presently discussing appeals against deportation of three other West Bank residents.

The 18 deportees are: Mohammed Beirut, Badr Qawasmeh, and Salim Brousah, all from Hebron; Mohammed Arnidi, Abd al-Qadder Wahsh, Issa Shaheen, and Mahmoud Hamdan Tamari from Bethlehem; Abd al-Qadder Allarish, Adnan Baladi, Juma Abu Hammad, Mahmoud Abu Usbeh, and Abd al-Jasser Abu Usbeh from Tulkarm; Nathmi Hamdan, Salim Murtadi, Abdullah Alloni, Khalid Dloul and Mohammed Hanini from Nablus; and Khalil Salameh from Gaza.

Sheikh Abd al-Hamid al-Sayieh, chairman of the Palestine National Council, denounced the deportations September 17 as "illegal." Sayieh warned the Israelis against expelling Palestinians to empty the occupied territories of their indigenous inhabitants.

Denunciation of the deportations also came from the United States. State Department Spokesperson Charles Redman warned that the deportation may increase tension in the region.

Detainees at the Jneid prison in Nablus held a one day strike September 12 in protest against the deportation policy.

The latest figure on deportations between 1967-85 is now put at 2015, according to an official Palestinian source in Amman.

Sabra and Shatila Remembered

Palestinians and their friends throughout the world remembered September 17 their brethren who were massacred in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Beirut three years ago.

In the occupied territories a general strike was partially observed as the West Bank and Gaza entered their second week of confrontation with regular units of the Israeli army.

In Lebanon commemorative meetings, and marches to the mass graves were held in the Sabra and Shatila camps. In Shatila, a Palestinian woman told reporters as she passed her home levelled during shelling by Amal forces, that, "every time we are attacked we think that it could never get any worse, but we are always wrong."

Local Palestinian papers remembered the first massacre and others. *Al Fajr* daily wrote: "We will not weep over Sabra or eulogize Shatila because the massacres against Palestinians are still continuing. Instead we will turn the memories of the martyrs into an illuminating history for those committed to their national cause."

Al Mithaq's editorial September 17 said that "with heads held high Palestinians will defeat all conspiracies as we have done in the past."

Local papers also reported commemorative activities in Japan, Europe and the US.

A Palestinian woman showing with grief the photographs of members of her family who were massacred three years ago in Sabra and Shatila. /AFP Photo

IN MIDDLE EAST TOUR

Ramallah Federation Delegates Assess Political Moves

by Said al-Ghazali

A 16-member delegation from the American Federation of Ramallah held talks with local Palestinians and PLO officials in Jordan and Syria during their visit to the region September 10-19. The delegation, made up of Palestinian professionals from all over the United States, came on a fact-finding tour aimed at assessing the situation in the territories and in the political arena.

Arafat in Amman

The delegation, which was chosen from among 25,000 members in the Federation, was invited by the PLO office in Washington, DC, to meet with top PLO officials in Amman. According to delegation head Nick Zaybac, the delegates met PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat in Amman September 10 for four hours. Zaybac told *Al Fajr* that Arafat spoke about the Amman agreement as an expression of political understanding between the PLO and Jordan on the issue of establishing a confederation between Jordan and Palestine. Arafat reportedly told the delegation that the Palestinian people would make the final decision on the issue of confederation through a future referendum.

Zaybac told *Al Fajr* Arafat believes recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and US agreement on establishing an independent Palestinian state according to the Palestinian right to self-determination would be a major victory for Palestinians. If such US recognition is not forthcoming, Arafat is reported to have said, then the PLO will not have lost anything, and the US and Israel will be held responsible for their rejection of peace. Chairman Arafat told Zaybac and the delegation that the world would then see the Palestinians as peace lovers and not as terrorists. He reportedly said the current diplomatic moves would also create a rift between Israel and the US, hopefully forcing the US closer to a neutral position in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Zaybac told *Al Fajr* that Arafat urged the delegation to work at positively influencing American public opinion and the American government concerning the just cause of the Palestinian people. He asked the delegation to work on all public opinion, the US Congress and the State Department.

Zaybac said delegation members expressed to Arafat their dismay at the current disunity of the PLO. He said they urged Arafat to give his utmost in efforts to unite the Palestinians under the banner of the PLO. Arafat reportedly told the delegation that there was indeed a current move for national reconciliation. The delegation members also met with Abdel Razzaq Yahya, director of the PLO office in Amman, and Bishop Elia Khoury, member of the PLO Executive Committee, both of whom expressed similar views to Arafat.

Habash in Damascus

Members of the delegation then met George Habash, Secretary General of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, in Damascus to gauge his opinion on PLO unity and the Amman agreement. Elias Shamsiyeh told *Al Fajr* that Habash met with them for two-and-a-half hours, during which he told them that the Amman agreement only maintains the split among Palestinians. He reportedly said the PLO bypassed its charter and the Palestine National Council accords.

Shamsiyeh told *Al Fajr* Habash spoke on the history of the Palestinian and Arab struggle in which, he said, peace efforts made by individuals or reform parties have been in vain because imperialist and Zionist forces have no intention of creating peace in the region.

Habash reportedly criticised Jordan for recognising the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians while, at the same time, attempting to undermine the position of the PLO in the West Bank and in the international arena. Habash demanded that the PLO abandon the Amman agreement to restore unity to the PLO which is the vanguard of all Arab liberation movements, according to Shamsiyeh's report. The delegation then attempted to contact Nayef Hawatmeh, head of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, but he was not in Damascus.

Shaka'a in Nablus

A September 17 meeting with Bassam Shaka'a, the dismissed mayor of Nablus, took place during which Shaka'a spoke on Palestinian struggle in all arenas, including the US. "You should try your best to maintain national unity," Shaka'a told the group. "We suffered a lot from the split in the PLO and we have to correct and erase past errors," he said. Shaka'a spoke in detail on ways unity might be restored. "The Palestinian ranks and secretary generals must meet to free the Palestinian struggle from the axis of inter-Arab relations," he said.

In response to a question concerning the feasibility of abandoning the Amman agreement, Shaka'a answered with another question: "Is it possible for the PLO to continue its efforts for peace in vain?" Shaka'a told the delegation that many Arab moderates have attempted to make peace and have suffered for it. He cited the examples of the two Iraqi kings Nuri Said and Ghazi, as well as King Hussein's great-grandfather Sharif Hussein Ben Ali. What happened to Sharif Hussein Ben Ali, Shaka'a said, was that Ali was deceived by the British into believing they would support Arab desires for independence. Instead he was deported from Jordan and died in Sicily.

Shaka'a told the group that the Palestinian struggle has achieved much in the past, like the establishment of the PLO and Arab and world recognition for the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinians. "This achievement did not come out of a vacuum," he said. Shaka'a said these historical achievements were won by all Palestinian factions. "The failure of Arab countries to liberate Palestine motivated Palestinians to create their own entity," said Shaka'a. He told the delegation that while we are talking about the agreement, Israel is building more settlements and subjugating the occupied territories in a new wave of repression.

Natshe in Hebron

Also on September 17, the Federation delegation visited Hebron's dismissed Deputy Mayor Mustafa Natshe at Hebron offices of The Graduates League. They were given detailed accounts of the political, economic, and educational life in Hebron and the West Bank. Natshe also spoke on municipal affairs since 1976. He told them about the settlers' acts of vigilance in Hebron and the grabbing of the Hebron Central Bus Station.

Natshe spoke on the achievements of the late Mayor of Hebron, Fahd Qawasmeh, who was instrumental in the building of schools and roads. Natshe told delegates about agriculture and industry in Hebron. He mentioned the issue of the cement factory in Hebron which has not yet been licensed by Israeli authorities.

The delegation members visited other institutions in Hebron and offered condolences to the family of Fahd Qawasmeh who was assassinated late last year in Amman.

Visiting the West Bank

The delegation's tour of the West Bank began September 15 and included interviews with doctors, lawyers and various businessmen in Ramallah. The delegation also visited the Ramallah Government Hospital where they were made aware of the poor medical conditions and the equipment the hospital needs badly.

On September 16 the delegation visited 10 charitable, cultural and religious societies in Ramallah. They were informed of housing, social and economic problems in the area. Several Ramallah institutions receive annual funds from the Ramallah Federation, whose headquarters are in Detroit. The Federation also offers scholarships to Palestinian students, and publishes a monthly magazine in Arabic about Ramallah news.

A party in honour of the delegation was held September 16 at the Catholic Club in Ramallah. Over 150 persons from Ramallah attended the party which was sponsored by the Ramallah Summer Resort Club. Some members of the delegation were visiting the occupied territories for the first time in many years.

Delegate and lawyer Karim Ajlouny told *Al Fajr* that he learned a great deal during the visit, particularly about the various political stands of the Palestinians. "I did not change my politics," he said. "The Amman agreement is necessary at this stage. The Palestinian revolution has reached its climax and there should be concrete results."

Lawyer Shamsiyeh, who left the West Bank in 1969, told *Al Fajr* of his personal impression on this trip. "Palestinian towns have grown and there are good relations among our people," he said. "I am dismayed though, because of the occupation's oppression." George Owais, a delegate from Virginia, told *Al Fajr* that the delegation had achieved its purpose. "We will continue to bridge relations with our people in the occupied territories," he said.

The American Federation of Ramallah includes 22 local organisations in more than 20 American states. It was established in 1959.

Delegates enjoy a *mansaf* meal at the Graduate League in Hebron./Said al-Ghazali photo.

Delegation members meet with Bassam Shaka'a in Nablus./Said al-Ghazali photo.

The Dawn
AL FAJR
AL FAJR — Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

Publisher:
Paul A. Ajlouny
Editor:
Hanna Siniora

Tel: (02) 281035
P.O. Box 19315
2 Hetem el-Taee St.
East Jerusalem 91192

Telex no.s:
Jerusalem: 26467 omar il
Washington: 64677 omar uw

Al Fajr was founded in 1972 by Yusef Nasr, who edited the paper until his kidnapping in 1974. The English edition was first published in April 1980. The Dawn (Al Fajr) Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (UPS 696830) is published weekly for $50.00 per year by Paul Ajlouny, 16 Crowell St., Hempstead. N.Y. 11550. Second class postage paid at Hempstead, N.Y.
POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Al Fajr 2025 I Street, N.W., Suite 925, Washington D.C., 20006.

Plugging the Inkwell Will Not Drown Out the Voice

The occupied territories are presently witnessing a new phase of repression. In addition to the curfews, mass arrests and deportations, a new policy is being enforced. With the regular army holding down the occupied population with its 'iron fist,' other government institutions have been asked to join in. Following a recent decision by the Israeli inner cabinet, a thorough review of various institutions in the occupied territories is now being carried out. The cabinet decision called for the government to re-evaluate licences given to institutions supporting the PLO.

In line with this decision, the Jerusalem Commissioner has asked the editor of *Al Darb* newspaper to appear before him to answer military allegations that his paper is supported by the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. *Al Darb's* editor Dr Hanna Hallaq has unequivocally denied the allegations. He told reporters everything published in this young newspaper has been approved by the military censor.

Dr Hallaq believes the attempt to close *Al Darb* is meant as a test case for further closures of Palestinian institutions. We have to agree with his assessment. The aim is clearly to shut up all Palestinian national voices. Israel wants Palestinian 'Yes' men who parrot their official positions. At best, the Israeli government will accept Palestinian voices which sound like King Hussein.

This Israeli dream will not come to pass. With every attempt to drown out one Palestinian voice, tens of others will arise to torment the Israeli government makers.

A people's national allegiance and political support cannot be swayed by the closure of a newspaper or the arrest of an activist. Instead such actions only make us more determined to get the truth out. It only pushes us more to search for new and more effective means to get our message across.

Al Darb and all Palestinian voices will not be drowned out no matter what arrangements are made by the occupation officials. A military ruler can close down a printing press and an editorial office, but no one can extinguish a people's will and determination for liberty and the freedom to choose their own representatives and determine their own future.

AL FAJR — Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: ONE YEAR: US$50.00

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

ENCLOSED IS A CHEQUE FOR THE AMOUNT.....

DATE.....

SIGNED.....

Mail to:
Al Fajr Palestinian Weekly
PO Box 19315
East Jerusalem
Via Israel

In US:
Al Fajr Palestinian Weekly
2025 Eye St. NW, Suite 925
Washington DC, 20006 USA

Sabra and Shatila Remembered

by Maher Abukhater

Following world outrage over the September 1982 slaughter of an estimated 3000 Palestinian refugees in Beirut's Sabra and Shatila camps, Palestinian refugees everywhere, especially those in Beirut, heaved a sigh of relief that finally the world had come to sympathise with and, more importantly, to understand their plight. It did not dawn on them, however, that the world's sympathy would be temporary, soon to fade away, or that they would continue to be targeted for annihilation by hostile forces, both Arab and foreign.

Exactly three years after the brutal massacres by Lebanese Phalange militias, refugees in Burj al-Barajneh camp, who were only spared the horrors of the two adjacent camps at the last moment, were under fire from another Lebanese militia. Ironically, the refugees at one time had seen this same militia as a force aimed at protecting them from the perpetrators of the infamous massacre. Last September, Burj al-Barajneh refugees had even welcomed the return of the Lebanese Shi'ite Amal militias to West Beirut, a section of the city they had liberated from the sectarian Lebanese army.

The camp's refugees felt safe under the 'protection' of a movement at war with their common enemies — the Phalange and Israel. They certainly did not foresee another massacre even before commemoration of the third anniversary, particularly not at the hands of their 'protectors' and 'allies.'

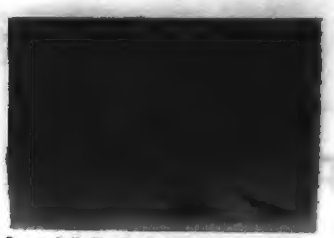
On this the third anniversary, Sabra and Shatila have been turned into rubble following month-long shelling of the two camps by Amal in May and June of this year. Hundreds who survived the 1982 massacre have been either killed or wounded. Thousands more have fled their shelters to 'more secure' locations. Burj al-Barajneh, the largest of the three neighbour camps, continues to hold off the invaders who have used heavy war machinery in their onslaught, in their attempt to destroy the last Palestinian stronghold in West Beirut.

The fighting continues even now and no one can predict its outcome. The Palestinians have been forced to accept the fact that no one can be trusted. They must now shoulder the responsibility of securing the camps and protecting the lives of their own refugees. Not only must they wage a war of liberation alone, but they are left alone to fight new 'enemies' emerging from within the Arab world as well.

Amal's apparent reason for the attack is their determination to take charge of life in the western and southern sections of the Lebanese capital. This includes wresting control of the camps from their Palestinian defenders. The Shi'ites are going as far as fighting their Druze ally to gain more ground in Beirut, so that they will get a bigger share in the Lebanese power structure. It is this power structure they hope to shape with their guns.

While no one can fault Amal for fighting its way to the top of Lebanese politics, its attitude towards the Palestinian camps and PLO guerrillas causes one to ask many questions about the movement itself. Yet despite the attacks the Palestinian problem with Amal is relatively minor. Palestinians have had disagreements over the years with Amal which at times were violent. Amal was never very hard for the Palestinians to control.

The really disheartening thing Palestinians must face on this third anniversary, however, is world apathy toward their misfortune. This is particularly true of those Arab countries who



Spent shells lie on the ground near the bullet-ridden body of a massacre victim.

show complete indifference to the Palestinians' gradual extermination.

Not one Arab nation seems to be applying the least pressure either on Amal to end the fighting or on the Lebanese government to bring those responsible for the massacres to justice. In fact, Elie Hobeiqa, the man who led the Lebanese Phalange force in killing Palestinian refugees at Sabra and Shatila over a three-day period, arrived last week in the Syrian capital. There he held meetings with ranking Syrian officials who received him as an official representative of the Lebanese government. Instead of arresting the "butcher" of Sabra and Shatila, the Syrians, who brag about their concern for the Palestinian cause, allowed Hobeiqa to return safely to Beirut carrying with him a plan for security in the eastern sector of the city. The Syrians recognised Hobeiqa as a person they can deal with to keep things under control in the Lebanese capital.

Indeed Lebanese President Amin Jemayel travels freely to Arab countries where he holds official meetings with their heads of state. Apparently he is never asked to explain his initial refusal to form a commission of inquiry to investigate the Sabra and Shatila massacres. He only later succumbed to international pressure and formed the commission whose report he dismissed as insignificant. He is also apparently never reminded during these official meetings of the necessity of punishing the perpetrators of the Sabra and Shatila crimes.

In addition to Arab indifference, the [illegible] news of the 1982 massacre and its aftermath, barely pays any attention these days to the most recent state of affairs in these same camps. The media skims over the camp's shelling and the Amal offensive aimed at starving and afflicting with disease the residents of these camps. It hardly details the attacks in spite of eyewitness reports of horrors being committed by Lebanese against the Palestinians in Beirut and elsewhere in Lebanon. Commentaries on the situation of the Palestinians seem to have disappeared except of course when the Palestinians make news as "terrorists."

Hardly anybody remembers Sabra and Shatila anymore. The Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza are not allowed to freely commemorate the anniversary of the massacres. When they tried on the first anniversary to stage a march to a special monument built in memory of the victims of the two Palestinian refugee camps, Israeli soldiers intervened and brutally disrupted what was a peaceful celebration. That was the end of local commemoration. It was not of course in Israel's interest for the world to remember Sabra and Shatila. After all, Israeli officials, all the way up to the prime minister at that time, were in one way or another held responsible for the carnage.

In Beirut, the Palestinians are busy keeping Amal militias off their back. They are fighting a vicious battle against Amal for survival. It is not safe anymore for Palestinians to openly declare their nationality, a declaration which could mean their destruction. The Palestinians in Lebanon don't even know who their enemy is and therefore they have to keep a low profile until the fog clears.

Elsewhere in the Palestinian diaspora, the memory of Sabra and Shatila lives in the hearts and minds of Palestinians. For the Palestinians the massacre was only another chapter in the long history of struggle for independence and freedom. It was not the first incident of mass murder of Palestinians and neither will it be the last. Who knows when the last chapter will be written. ■

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

Political Initiatives Must Reap Response, Or Violence is Inevitable

by Nadim Rouhana

The recent increase in Palestinian attacks on Israeli targets in the occupied territories seems to have taken many Israelis by surprise. This surprise in itself represents a deep misunderstanding of the dynamics of their occupation, and the Israelis are erroneously analysing what they call "the new wave of terrorism" within their misconception of Palestinian political attitudes and within the frame of occupation as they like to see it.

If — in Israeli eyes — the occupation is so enlightened and liberated, and if they are cooperating with the Americans to "raise the quality of life of the Arab inhabitants of Judea and Samaria," why do Palestinians attack Israeli soldiers [illegible] Israeli analysts and politicians, present various answers. The most popular answer is that "terrorism" is a PLO strategy — or, as a few columnists have written, it is a way of existence for the PLO, inherent in its nature. Another explanation sees the recent acts being carried out by naive youngsters misled by PLO agents; Prime Minister Shimon Peres claims that Arafat personally is behind these acts. Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin believes that the geographical proximity of the PLO offices in Amman inspires the Palestinians to carry out these acts.

Many observers cite the recent exchange of prisoners as encouraging Palestinians to take weapons into their hands. A leading Israeli military analyst thinks that Yasir Arafat might be planning to impose on the Peres government a ceasefire similar to that he achieved in Lebanon with Begin's government in 1981 in order to boost the PLO's legitimacy in Israeli eyes. (Ze'ev Schiff, *HaAretz* September 9, 1985). Incidentally, this same analyst reports that military intelligence sources believe that about 50 percent of these acts are carried out by individuals with no connection to locally based or regionally organised networks contradicting his own explanation of a "ceasefire plan."

What characterises the Israeli logic is the conspicuous absence of any consideration for the experience of a nation under military occupation. Why should such considerations be taken into account if within the general Israeli frame of analysis the group under occupation is not a nation and the occupation is so special — guided by Jewish values?

The human suffering and the human desire to be liberated from occupation is excluded as a possible motive because these people are sub-humans or at best "Indians who should be killed when they are still young," as one Israeli expressed himself on the TV programme *Mabat Sheni* September 10. It is not the engulfing desire for independence or nationhood that motivates these acts because the feelings of national belonging and national rights to the area West of the Jordan River are the exclusive right of the Jewish people, as Trade Minister Ariel Sharon wrote (*Yediot Aharoniot*, August 9, 1985). Nor does the massive confiscation of Arab land enter into the Israeli analysis, because that "transfer of ownership," even if illegally performed, fulfils the divine imperative of "redeeming the land," as Foreign Minister Shamir thinks. Stepped up resistance is not possibly a chain reaction to the accumulating acts of Jewish terrorism because these are the acts of "dear sons." Could it possibly be the expression of rejection to collective punishment a la curfews on whole Arab cities or closure of Palestinian universities? Not really, because they are "hotheads of [illegible] activity."

The list of human suffering and deep humiliation of the Palestinians under occupation is long — indeed very long. But for each, in the mind of the Israeli, there is a ready-made answer — so ready-made that one sometimes feels the Israeli is a virtual compound of defence mechanisms that is almost impenetrable.

The Israeli public is immune to Palestinian suffering. The dynamics of the conflict with Palestinians and the all-pervading anxiety it created within Israelis block out any possible empathy to the Palestinian plight and predicament. The easiest way to deal with possible Palestinian victimisation is to deny it. Recently, an Israeli friend "explained" to me that Palestinians carry out attacks because they want to have their homes demolished by the Israeli army. Why? For each abolished room, he said, the PLO pays them to build a new house.

The absence of moral and human considerations in Israeli analysis is not limited to the recent events. It permeats the arguments of most of those in the Israeli left who believe that Israel should "get rid" of the West Bank and Gaza. Their argument centres around the impact of occupation on Israeli-Jewish society only; they are concerned that occupation endangers the Jewish nature of the state and its democratic system. The Palestinians — as one Israeli intellectual put it to me — are only an "actor in a Jewish play."

The present wave of violence in the West Bank did not develop in a political vacuum and is not devoid of political messages. Until the Israelis face the fact that this "terrorism" is a political problem that must be addressed accordingly, they will keep going in the wrong direction and feeding a vicious circle of violence and counter-violence that might trigger another Lebanon war on the Eastern Front.

The sudden — but not surprising — increase in violence came at a time when the legitimate Palestinian leadership — as closely as its constraints allow — is expressing its readiness for a negotiated settlement, an historical compromise within the framework of an international conference. The efforts to achieve American recognition of their right to self-determination and the subsequent American manoeuvres are quite frustrating to many Palestinians. The American refusal even to meet with PLO officials — let alone to recognise the PLO — is seen in many Palestinian circles as cause for despair. It leads many to disbelieve in the utility of the political processes. In addition, the Israeli rejection of any formula of negotiation with the PLO leaves local Palestinians with very limited choices, as it limits the choices of the PLO itself.

The Palestinians know that their acts do not threaten Israel — although they do threaten Israelis. But they also see that in places as far as South Africa and as close as south Lebanon these acts place national cause and deep human suffering on the international agenda — a message that their leaders' political efforts are failing to get across.

Although individually initiated in most cases, these attacks are not devoid of a collective spirit that emerges from the general feeling in the occupied territories. If the political process is aborted and perceived to have failed, violence as an alternative avenue will increase. Palestinians here may see no other way to make the Israelis wake up to their daily human suffering and come to terms with the fact that the *status quo* cannot continue.

In response to the latest wave of attacks the Israelis have launched an offensive that serves the interests of both major parties in the Israeli ruling coalition. The Likud encourages a strong hand policy in order to suppress any resistance to their long term policy of establishing Greater Israel.

For Labour, however, it seems to serve a different goal. Both parties agree to negotiate with King Hussein, but on different terms. While Peres is willing to negotiate a territorial compromise over the occupied territories with the king, Shamir and his party would negotiate on the basis of a formula of "peace in return for peace," excluding any territorial compromise as an issue for negotiations. The refusal to negotiate with the PLO represents one pillar of the Israeli political consensus *vis-a-vis* the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The Israelis know that the PLO will not delegate power to the king to negotiate in their name, and that Palestinian activists in the territories who support the PLO will vehemently resist such a plan.

The recent Israeli clampdown on Palestinian activists, student leaders, and unionists — allegedly in response to the wave of attacks — should be seen in light of breaking possible future resistance to negotiations a la Peres, namely with the Jordanian king in due time. Peres is both preparing the local ground for such negotiations and sending a message across the river.

Like Israeli analysis of the motives behind Palestinian attacks, these plans are based on a mistaken reading of the attitudes of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. Just as there seems to be widespread support for Arafat's initiatives, there is massive rejection to excluding the PLO from the political process. The Israelis will face united local opposition to any attempt to reach a political solution without the PLO. ■

Rabin Pushes Israel Towards Political Abyss

by Michael Lowry

Neither the Israeli army's inglorious retreat from Lebanon, the present state of the national economy, nor the prospect of neverending internecine strife has motivated the Ministry of Defence to reevaluate its policies. The present Defence Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, is following in the ruts of his predecessors, cool-headedly leading the country to the brink of a political abyss.

Along the way, the knowledge that violence is endemic to the Israeli occupation of the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights must be repressed — along with the Palestinian population. Likewise, any attempt to see the cumulative effect of consolidating the Israeli army's June 1967 victory in mundane terms are shunned.

Although the October 1973 war exploded the Israeli army's delusions of invincibility, the Bar Lev line — built to ward off the perception of alternatives to reliance on military might — remains intact in the minds of defence strategists.

"No Choice"

The concept of deterrence has literally dictated Israeli government policy for the past two decades. It entails the exacerbation of an already explosive situation by means of military coercion and generates a mindset incapable of measuring short-term objectives against their long-term consequences.

Judging by the analysis of Defence Ministry planning that appeared in the Israeli press in June 1985 — the third anniversary of the Israeli army's "48-hour military operation in Lebanon" — even short-term consequences are not taken into consideration by defence strategists.

The corollary of the defence establishment's proverbial lack of alternatives is its inability to resist political delusions. Such was the case in the Lebanon war and such is the case at present. For the Defence Ministry appears to have "no choice" but to plug artificial "security vacuums" on the West Bank. And in the process of safeguarding settlers, the army is coming to view the entire Palestinian population as potential terrorists — in a manner akin to the Afule rioters.

Insecurity and Annexation

On their part, the settlers realise that although there is a quantitative difference between mass expulsion and selective deportation, a continuum exists between the two and this continuum can be exploited. In the meantime, army clampdowns are never extreme enough, the latest measures are never harsh enough, and the most recent round of deportations are never massive enough for the settlers. No matter how much repression is applied on the local population, the settlers will never feel secure, for their insecurity is the motor of annexation. ■

Buildings and narrow roads decrease visibility at the Beit Safafa railway crossing.

Fast Trains and Speedy Land Grabs Take Their Toll on Beit Safafa

by Awad Abdel Fattah

In the years since 1948 with the on again, off again talk of improving the quality of life, conditions for the village of Beit Safafa have not significantly changed. In fact two concerns — one seemingly trivial to outsiders and the other obviously more serious — continue to leave their mark on the daily life of the village, presently a suburb of Jerusalem. The Israeli railway which passes through the village has been the scene of several tragic incidents since 1948, and yet the Israeli authorities have taken no serious steps to prevent them. At the same time, the continued grab of the village land by Israeli authorities poses another problem which has left most of the population of the village with no land on which to build.

Beit Safafa is located in south-west Jerusalem where the city has forced itself onto the village land with its multi-storey buildings, virtually wiping away the 'borders' between the village and the metropolitan 'settlements' next door. Before 1967 the village was divided in half, one part having been occupied in 1948 and the other under the Jordanians. Until both parts were 'united' by the total Israeli occupation of 1967, a barbed wire stood in the middle constituting an imaginary line. In 1967 both parts were annexed to the Jerusalem municipality.

The Railway, an Omen

Another imaginary line running through Beit Safafa is the Israeli railway. Though a train whistle may represent many things to different people, the whistle of Beit Safafa's train has become a bad omen for the village population. The railway which once again divides the village in two has been the scene of more than a score of tragic accidents which have taken the lives of four people and caused the mutilation of others, besides the destruction of a number of cars since 1948. In the last incident, five months ago, a 12-year-old boy had his left leg torn up by the train.

A mixure of sadness and outrage characterises the feelings of the villagers when they consider both the human pain caused and the total neglect and lack of even minimal attention given to their plight on the part of the Israeli authorities. "Every time the train passes with its ear-shattering whistle, I hold my breath," said an old woman living near the railway.

Before 1948, the slow British coal engine chugged through the village without troubling residents. The older villagers recall that the train used to whistle from far off warning villagers of its arrival and used to stop in the middle of the village to make sure there were no people or cars across the tracks. But the introduction of modern streamlined trains in the new state after 1948 was not accompanied with the required protection measures in the village of Beit Safafa.

"Why don't they do for us what they do in the Jewish part?" asked Lyla Abed, a college student from the village. She lives near the railway and explained that the measures taken in Jewish neighbourhoods through which the train passes are much better and that almost no accidents occur there. Barbed wire is installed along the railway so that no one can cross it. This is in addition to electrically-operated warning posts installed at each crossing. In Beit Safafa, however, there is no electrically-operated barrier to block traffic as the train approaches. And the fact that the crossing is at a spot where it is difficult to see what is coming from either direction is directly responsible for the several incidents in which cars have been crushed and their drivers seriously injured.

Despite these tragic incidents, nothing has been done by the Israeli authorities to put an end to this pressing problem. One of the three *mukhtars* of the village, Mohammed Abu Rabbu told *Al Fajr* that all the protests which they have made in various Israeli circles have produced nothing. "They promise us every time we meet them to do something, but they don't," he said. The villagers presented three possible solutions: instal an electrically-operated barrier, to build a bridge over the track or to transfer the railway from the village.

Dr Mohammad Jadallah, a local activist and member on the administrative board of the local Arab Club, told *Al Fajr* that the Israeli authorities not only refused to comply with the demands of the population, but even acted "indifferently and inhumanely towards the casualties." He added that Israeli police and the ambulance summoned either didn't come at all or came too late. According to Jadallah, most of the casualties were taken to hospitals in private cars.

Land Confiscation

Another pressing problem facing the 6000-strong population of Beit Safafa is the continued Israeli land grab under the pretext of building and planning streets inside the village and in the vicinity. According to Dr Jadallah, about two-thirds of the village's land has been taken by Israel since 1948. Most of that was taken in 1948 when Israel occupied part of the village, forcing the emigration of many villagers and preventing those who remained under the Jordanian rule from reaching their land [illegible] Israeli occupied part.

The second wave of confiscation began after 1967. In 1976 about 80 dunums were taken by a 120-metre-wide street connecting Jerusalem with the Gilo settlement, standing now only three kilometres south of the village. These plots, belonging to 30 families, were cultivated with almonds, grapes and olive trees. At the time, the landowners brought the case to the Israeli High Court of Justice, which ruled against them by justifying the confiscation, saying it was for "security reasons." None of the families, most of whom had no other land, received compensation, and now the problem of land shortage is felt strongly in the village as many other people complain about not having land to build on for their married sons.

The population of the village faces yet another Israeli plan to strip them of a greater part of their remaining land. This plan, which the Jerusalem municipality planning committee declared last year, calls for the building of four streets. One will connect Gilo settlement with the coastal area and Tel Aviv passing through the village land, and the other three streets will be internal. The landowners were given until September 4 to object to the planning committee. Abu Ali, one of the owners of the land who lost his total 19 dunums in the 1976 confiscation campaign told *Al Fajr* that their lands have been taken over for purposes which have nothing to do with them. "In fact, this land takeover is being used against us," he said. Dr Jadallah elaborated on the plan saying that it is meant to block the village in from all sides and prevent it from expansion. He added that "even the planning of the three internal streets are intended as a legitimate cover for the whole plan and not for the interest of the village. It is intended to thwart any effective opposition from the village population," he said.

Beit Safafa villagers are determined this time to resist by all means possible the new plan. One of the villagers said, "We will fight it by all legal means possible. This Zionist plan will pass only over our dead bodies." This strong determination results from the fact that most of the population have been harmed and have almost no land to build on. Even those who still have some plots inside the village are not issued construction permits under the pretext that the municipality has not prepared a master plan for the village. Dr Jadallah, who is living in his brother's house, has not yet received approval for a construction licence he applied for in 1979. Abdel Majid Ishaq, a Beit Safafa shopkeeper, applied for a licence four years ago and still hasn't received an answer. Scores of other applicants face the same situation. ■

No electronically-operated signal or barrier protects villagers from the approaching train.

Both a fence and stone embankment separate the train from a Jewish neighbourhood only metres away from Beit Safafa.

One of the most important and yet frequently ignored regions of Palestine is the Gaza Strip. Originally one of the most influential of Canaanite regions, it has remained through the centuries a busy centre of Arab life. Following the 1948 war, Gaza became what was thought to be a 'temporary' home for thousands of refugees. Two-thirds of the Strip's population are today these very same refugees, their children and grandchildren housed in eight overcrowded camps.

Al Fajr has determined to study the situation in Gaza in a series of four articles on living conditions, agriculture, industry and cheap labour in the Gaza Strip. This look at Gaza's refugees is the first in the series.

40,000 refugees live in the Beach camp on the Mediterranean coast. /UNRWA photo

Refugees Two Thirds Gaza Population

Crowded Camps Dot Dense Gaza Strip

by Khalil Touma

"We are a family of 24 all living in four rooms — my wife, daughters, two sons, their wives and children," said Hassan Amouri, a fisherman in his sixties from the Shati' (Beach) refugee camp in Gaza Strip. He spoke as we approached him at midday sitting at the entrance of his mud house. He insisted we come in for a cup of coffee after we explained the nature of our visit — to inquire about conditions in the Gaza camps. Looking at the ceiling, Hassan explained that he had had to replace the old UNRWA bricks with asbestos a long time ago. "This makes the house practically like hell in the summer," he said. Indeed, it was so and one had almost to keep his handkerchief on his face.

Next to Amouri's door lived yet another family — a total of 15 persons occupying three rooms. The house contained a woman with her five daughters and five sons, one of whom is married. He also lives there with his wife and three children.

These stories are not unique in the Gaza Strip, an area whose population density is second only to Hong Kong. Six hundred thousand Palestinians live there in harsh conditions where many of the basic necessities of modern life are missing. The nearly 150 square kilometre strip looks like a forgotten god neglected patch off the coast of the Mediterranean, which accurately describes the great ordeal of the Palestinian people under Israeli occupation. Over two-thirds of the Gazan population are refugees forced from their homes in 1948. More than half of these are congregated in eight camps, with the rest living in the small neighbouring villages or Gaza city itself.

Perhaps the major problem refugees face in these camps is housing. No serious planning has been done to deal [illegible] of refugees; therefore the mud houses which were built by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) in the early fifties to accommodate the refugees for what was believed to be a short stay continue to serve the new generations.

Not only has the political problem continued to be unsolved; but it has even become more complicated since the Israeli occupation of the entire land of Palestine in 1967. Most of the refugee dwellings are crammed now with three generations. The refugees are suffering from additional restrictions by the Israeli authorities which prohibit them from adding new rooms or from renovating their existing homes. Severe punishment is often taken against those who, under the pressure of necessity, dare to make any repairs to the old shelters or try to make changes without permission from the authorities.

And in a true Catch-22, Israelis rarely grant permission for new construction or renovation. The Israelis, in fact, have reactivated an Egyptian code of 1960 which prohibits building without permission. This code was generally not applied to the refugee camps during the Egyptian administration, a fact which was openly reaffirmed by Egyptian officials. Clearly the aim of the Israeli position is to force refugees out of the camps, in an attempt to artificially reduce the number of Palestinian refugees. In some cases people have been fined for just plastering a wall or changing a window or installing a solar heating system. Camp residents report "security" patrols keep an eye open for any movement of the kind.

Jabalya refugee camp with a population of 50,000 suffers the most from the overpopulation. In Jabalya it is estimated that an average of six persons live in each room. "It is the same everywhere in the Gaza camps. It is one general policy of the occupation. But people do not want to emigrate," said Salameh, a refugee from the Rafah camp and a fourth-year student at the Islamic University in Gaza. He lives with his family of 21 persons, including his 75-year-old grandmother, and his two married brothers with their wives and 11 children. The house consists of five rooms — three by four metres each — and a small toilet. His mother is ill and his father retired. The two brothers work to support the entire family. They are plasterers. Recently his younger brother joined them after graduating without a job from the Teacher's College in Ramallah.

"The whole family cooks and eats together," he said, "but we have our meals on the floor. We have no place for a large table." Not waiting for my next question, he told me that such a life was nearly impossible, but that they must accept it since there is no alternative for refugees besides getting back their confiscated rights. Salameh, who can hardly find a corner in the house in which to study, maintains good grades at the university.

He deplores, however, the lack of mutual understanding among the various generations of the household. He explained that because of differences in concepts, values, experience and vitality between the old and younger generations, "living all together in such a small place means a continuous clash between these different ideas." Salameh believes that if things are to continue in the same direction with such a high rate of birth people will soon sleep in the dirt streets outside the camp's mud dwellings.

UNRWA, the organisation responsible for the camps, has yet to do anything concrete to help ease the crisis. Two years after it was formed as a temporary organisation of the UN in 1948, it erected these mud shelters to replace tents set up by the Quakers. The Quakers had erected the tents to accommodate thousands of Palestinian refugees scattered in mosques, in various institutions and on the barren sands. But ever since the initial shelters, nothing of significance has been done to the houses.

UNRWA has clearly stated on more than one occasion that it does not object to extensions and improvements done by the refugees as long as they are not against the law of the country. It has also stated that moving from these shelters is something that only refugees can decide themselves. Nevertheless, the agency maintains that regardless of whether the refugees live in the camps or not they are still entitled to UNRWA service.

It must be noted, as well, that the Israeli policy of demolishing houses of Palestinians has enhanced the housing problem in the Gaza Strip. Nearly 3000 shelters were demolished in 1971 in various camps under the pretext of erecting security roads. Thirty-five other shelters were demolished in the Beach camp in 1983 because they were built without a 'licence.' In the camps of Nusseirat, Rafah, Jabalya and others there are whole areas under the threat of demolition.

The policy of demolishing the refugee camps is also attempted in another way. The authorities have been trying to exploit the housing crisis in the camps for that purpose. In theory, liquidating the camps would mean getting rid of the hundreds of thousands of refugees who comprise the largest moral dilemma in the Arab-Israeli conflict. To that aim Israeli housing projects were established some years ago in which willing refugees were either sold a piece of land where they could build or a small dwelling of two rooms on about 100 square metres of land. At present, there are six of these projects in various areas of the Strip. However, the price is considered too steep for many and the land, according to the Hebrew contract, is not actually sold, but rather leased for 99 years.

A primary condition stipulated in the deal is that refugees moving to these projects must first demolish their shelters in the camps before moving. Many families have refused. The whole idea of the projects has not been welcomed by the refugees, despite the fact that the living conditions would be much better than their existing shelters. Yet only some 5000 families, out of approximately 45,000, have moved so far.

Another problem from which the refugees must suffer is the open sewage canals running through the Gaza camps. They often flood in addition to being a source of disease and insects. Flooding of the sewage canals is such a problem that these canals sometimes form pools near the camps. One of these is the "Abu Rashid" pool near the Jabalya camp which has been somewhat of a landmark for many years. In winter, the rain makes it a danger threatening the surrounding neighbourhood. Yet, nothing has been done to drain it. In Rafah camp, UNRWA and the town municipality were working together to drain a similar pool but it continues to exist.

Despite the unpaved dirt roads flooded by sewage and clogged with garbage, inside the refugee houses everything is very clean. The refugees realise the need to take care of things themselves as best they can. Even this primitive system of sewage was mostly erected by the refugees themselves. When their shelters were first built, each block was given only one public toilet. This in between the houses of the camp, were made very narrow, and now, except a few main roads, no lanes have touched by asphalt or gravel.

When the shelters were first erected, one public water tap was provided for each block. At first it was only turned on a few hours a day with the rations of water meeting international health norms. Later, however, families were able to extend water pipes to their shelters and cisterns were erected by UNRWA to supply free water. But camp dwellers, in general, complain that the water supply is very low and that it still comes for only a short time daily. It would be cut off completely, they say, if something went wrong with the motor. There are two other possible alternatives, but each is very expensive. One is the water supply of the municipal and village councils and two is the "Mekorot," the Israeli water company which has forced its way lately into most of the camps.

Electricity, which is bought from the Israeli regional company, is also a heated topic in the camps. Refugees complain that it is very expensive and weak, and that for the last three months a nightly cut off for about one hour has been observed. The reason, some believe, is the high number of consumers and the weakness of the transformers. It is even with difficulty that one can extend electricity to his house, they say.

Health care is another problem for Gaza refugees. UNRWA operates a health centre in each refugee camp in addition to one in Gaza City. These centres offer both preventive and curative care. Cases that cannot be treated at the centres are redirected to local hospitals, and 60-95 percent of the expenses are remitted to patients from destitute families. The report of the General Commissioner of UNRWA last year indicated that there are possibly 6000 families in the Gaza camps who qualify as destitute.

Refugees, however, complain that the recent reductions in UNRWA services have deeply affected the quality of health care. They have had serious ramifications on many lives since most of the refugees live below the proverty line and cannot bear the cost of expensive medical treatment. Most cannot pay the premiums of the health insurance offered by the occupation authorities for West Bank and Gaza residents.

In Jabalya camp, which has a poulation of over 70,000, some refugees voiced harsh criticism of the one UNRWA health centre there. It does not supply adequate and sufficient treatment anymore, they say, and patients with some chronic diseases like diabetes are not given medicine. An UNRWA employee denied this and said that if medicine is not immediately available it is always provided a day later. In many cases patients are forced to go to hospitals on their own without prior referral by the centre because of the centre's hesitation to refer cases to local hospitals. This way the refugees lose the money URWA would normally give them to help pay their medical bill. This was not the case before 1967 when hospital treatment under the Egyptian administration was free. But, occupation has left nothing free, they say.

The health clinic itself is only open from 8 am to 1:30 pm. Emergency cases after that hour must be treated at the hospitals at one's own expense. Refugees in the Beach camp also noted that medicine is available in the health centre only in the first few days of the month. Nothing is available after that, they say.

Another area of concern to Gaza refugees is their children's education. The overcrowded schools have pushed UNRWA to enforce a double shift system in 92 out of 143 elementary and preparatory schools it runs in the Strip. Reports on the scholastic year of 1983-84 indicate that there were over 82,000 pupils in the UNRWA schools there. The average number of students in each class was 50. In his report for the year ending June 1984, the General Commissioner indicated that the Israeli authorities have refused to allow UNRWA to construct 34 new classrooms to help overcome the crisis of the crowded schools.

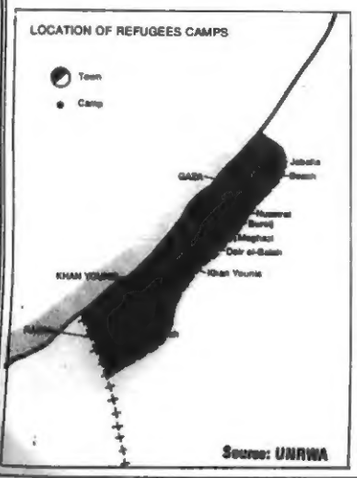
After graduation from the junior high schools students are forced to either attend vocational classes or to attend the government secondary schools. UNRWA does not operate secondary schools in the camps.

After the recent reductions in UNRWA services, pupils have been deprived of their free textbooks and writing paper. Harassment from the occupation force has added to the sufferings of students. They are often a target for provocative practices of the army patrols. Last year, authorities moved studies from the Jabalya secondary school to the Beit Hanoun high school some four-five kilometres away. Most of these students use bicycles to reach their school but normal army checkposts on the roads don't allow them to pass in peace. Even the kindergarten was a target of army harassment last year. Soldiers entered the school in the Jabalya camp and threatened the teachers because the school was painted in the colours of the Palestinian flag.

Public libraries, theatres, parks, and recreation centres for children are all missing from camp society. In some camps, however, there are youth clubs where sports is the main activity, besides some very small libraries and a few radios or TV sets. Some women's clubs also offer embroidery sessions for interested girls in the camps. But cultural activities [illegible] of the authorities, making it difficult for them to operate. The few clubs which do exist are constantly watched by the authorities. Any violation according to the Israelis is immediately met by severe measures. The Rafah camp youth club, which is UNRWA-sponsored, was shut down for three years, because it issued a pamphlet with the pictures of Palestinian leaders. There is a second club in Rafah which is run by the municipality. Yet youths do not like to go to it because of its location near the police station and the civil administration. Despite the fact that sports are the preoccupation of its members, the authorities have tried to stop its activities by threatening the best players and arresting some of them for different periods. ■

A refugee family in Khan Younis. /UNRWA photo

Gaza in History



The history of Gaza City and the Strip itself dates back to ancient times. Gaza was one of the five main Palestinian centres mentioned in ancient history. It was built by the Canaanite Arab tribes who immigrated from the Arab peninsula in the year 3000 BC. Excavations, however, have proved the area was actually inhabited long before that.

Arabs named it the "Gaza of Hashem" after Hashem-Ibn-Abd-Munaf, the grandfather of Prophet Mohammed. Hashem is said to have died in Gaza on his way back to Hijaz in the Arabian peninsula after a successful commercial journey.

In ancient times, Gaza's geographical location was of great significance since it was on the main trade route to Syria. It was also of great military significance as connecting point between Egypt and Syria. Invaders from both sides always made it their first target.

In more recent times, one of its conquerors was Napoleon Bonaparte who occupied the city on his way to Acre in 1799. In November 1917, it fell to the British occupation following the defeat of the Turks. British cemeteries in the city still hold thousands of British soldiers who were killed in the first world war. During the mandate it became the base of the southern regiment of Palestine and in 1948 the city became the capital of the Strip.

The defeat in 1948 left its impact on the Strip, and, while its economy was deteriorating, it became very crowded with refugees. It was separated from other parts of Palestine and was under Egyptian administration until 1967 when it fell, as well as the rest of Palestine, to the Israeli occupation.

Gaza City Suffers Similar Condition

Gaza City has a population of 150,000, nearly 35 percent of the total population of the Strip. Living conditions there are much like the camps. The price of land is soaring and rent is very expensive. Buying a piece of land 250 metres square and building a three-room house would cost nearly US 60,000 dollars — only a dream for the majority of the population. Other factors have worsened the housing problem, including the confiscation of land for settlements and alleged security reasons. There are now 16 Israeli settlements in the Strip. Authorities have also declared large areas as "Green Land" where construction in general is strictly forbidden.

In recent years, however, the overpopulated heart of the city has pushed westward, to the "Remal" quarter, where a line of rich villas overlooks the sea. Housing at the outer edges of the city has also increased recently. The poorer residents live mainly in the eastern and southern sectors in mostly mud houses.

There are 17 municipality and village councils in the Strip. These councils oversee the water, electricity, roads, sewage, general health, parks, public buildings, and some social clubs and centres. Yet they are not independently operated. They are overseen by the interior military officer. He has the right to determine the financial, administrative and planning business of the towns. This lack of local authority, which is an Israeli policy, is indeed a main cause for stifling the progress and better services that could and should be supplied by these local councils.

Right-wing settler Moshe Levinger and Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin in Hebron. Coordinating strategy?

Israeli Press Debates Increased Repression

The following excerpts and commentary all revolve around the recent spate of Palestinian attacks against Israeli soldiers and civilians and the attendant question of whether the government should implement harsher methods in the occupied territories — **Translator.**

* * *

Israel Katz began his political career in the mid-seventies when he organised right-wing thugs to attack Palestinian students at the Hebrew University. Today, he is an adviser to Minister of Trade and Commerce Ariel Sharon and an up-and-coming Likud powerbroker.

In an article published in *Hadashot* on September 11, Katz put the September 3 knife attack on two Israeli soldiers in the Hebron Casabah into what he believes is its overall context:

"Yesterday Lebanon, today Hebron, and tomorrow our entire security. This is the proper perspective for viewing what's happening. The principle problem is the gap between our objectives and our ability to see them through — a gap brought on by the timidity that has seized hold of us lately... The state of Israel is not [the] Maccabi [basketball team] or [the] Betar [soccer club]. In sport, when you don't fight, all you end up losing is the cup. But under the present form of defeatism, we may end up losing the state.

"The present political conflict in Israel is between those willing to fight for the realisation of Herzl and Jabotinsky's Zionism... and those who refuse to fight, preferring to build irrational and historically incorrect theories to justify their call to lay down our weapons. So it was that the Israeli left's support of the [Camp David] peace process did not rest on a strategic [illegible] between Sinai and the West Bank and Gaza, but rather stemmed from that same timidity which is ready to agree to peace at any price.

"The Lebanon War was the first test of strength between these two sectors [of the Israeli population] — between security-mindedness and timidity. Today it's clear that timidity won an overwhelming victory; among other things, Israel has withdrawn from Lebanon.

"The PLO, which was encouraged by this process, has continued to attack Israel, hoping that with a bit more pressure, the atmosphere of timidity will foster surrender and collapse, and this time not only from Lebanon, but from the entire Land of Israel.

"On the eve of New Year and the Day of Atonement, the Israeli left must search its soul... This will lead it to the conclusion that the response to the murder of Jews in Hebron should be the establishment of a Jewish settlement in the city" (Israel Katz, *Hadashot*, September 11, 1985).

* * *

Matti Peled, one of the two Progressive List for Peace (PLP) representatives in the Knesset, wrote an article that appeared side-by-side with Katz's plea to leftists, in which he argued that "the victims on both sides are the unjust and high toll both peoples have been forced to pay for a policy which is attempting to... disregard the existence of a people which is fighting for its liberation. If this government could understand the character of the Palestinian struggle, it would also realise the futility of basing its policy on the illusion that the PLO is simply a terrorist organisation which can be wiped out by means of a few brutal operations directed against the people from which it sprang."

Peled, far from repeating and calling for settling Jews in Hebron — Katz's "inescapable conclusion" — went on to say that "preaching moral sermons to national liberation movements of the sort the Prime Minister directed to the PLO and its supporters will not halt the Palestinian struggle for the same reason similar sermons delivered by the British did not halt Jewish terrorist activities during the final years of the British Mandate in the Land of Israel... Violence would undoubtedly cease if only both sides would enter into negotiations... on the mutual recognition of both peoples' right to live in safety and freedom. There is no military solution to the conflict with the Palestinian people. But until Israel agrees to this, terrorism will continue and both sides will continue to perpetrate violence" (Matti Peled, *Hadashot*, September 11, 1985).

* * *

Rahavam Ze'evi, who like Peled is a reserve army general, has a different view of what should be done. "If I were asked by the Prime Minister or the Defence Minister which measures should be taken in order to suppress terrorism, I would suggest that action ought to be taken in a number of fields, some of which are inappropriate for public debate," Ze'evi wrote in *Yediot Aharonot* on September 9.

As to what is inappropriate for public debate, we can only speculate, using the suggestions Ze'evi did list as a guide. Among other things, they include: "expelling inciters from the Land of Israel; closing down the Arab papers that come out in East Jerusalem which incite [against Israel]; closing down institutions of higher learning in the [occupied] territories which serve as focal points of unrest and the dissemination of hostile propaganda; permitting the army access to educational institutions in order to prevent terrorist cells from being formed; safeguarding Jewish transportation in the [occupied] territories; banishing refugee camps that disrupt transport to out of the way sites; examining and revamping the local orders for opening fire given to Israeli soldiers so as to allow them to fire at assailants when attacked with knives or rocks; clamping curfews on hostile neighbourhoods and towns and carrying out searches which will teach [the inhabitants of these neighborhoods] that it's for their own good to preserve calm; halting hostile residents from crossing over to Jordan, or permitting them to exit on condition that they are not given the right to return."

* * *

Ze'ev Schiff, one of the best known military analysts in Israel, published an article in *HaAretz* on September 5 entitled "The Path to Civil War," in which he argues that if the present situation is allowed to escalate, Israelis and Palestinians may soon find themselves in the midst of a civil war.

"The latest incidents bear the marks of a budding civil war, another round in the war between the two populations living here. The very fact that many of the recent terrorist attacks were initiated locally... reveals that the coals are being stoked here and are not being imported from Amman, Beirut, Damascus or Algiers... Two large civilian populations are involved in this struggle. One of them, the Arab population under occupation, feels itself coerced and oppressed and is nourishing feelings of hatred [vis-a-vis the Israelis]. The second group, the dominant Jewish population, is eliminating more and more possibilities for the development of the Arab population... Liberal as it may be, this population has found itself forced into using collective punishment against the Arab population. Frustration and the lack of a solution to the conflict have given rise to Kahanism, racism, and the idea that expulsion is a viable solution...

"We are thus on the path to a new round of the Jewish Palestinian civil war — to begin with, because it is hardly likely that so large an Arab population (which cannot be termed a minority) will agree to live under the present occupation forever... The present process in the [occupied] territories is pushing the Arabs further and further into a corner which leaves few possibilities, save for emigration, mass emigration that is (as the settlers and many others hope), or a new confrontation between the two populations. In any case, I don't believe that the Lebanon War is the last Israeli-Palestinian war. And in his heart of hearts, Ariel Sharon thinks the same... His proposals, similar to those of the settlers, are for settling Jews in every Arab city — Bethlehem, Nablus, every city and village. Many people believe that such a programme will trigger a new confrontation — a confrontation which thanks to the balance of power between the two populations, we will win... but which will make life in this country unbearable for both peoples all the same" (Ze'ev Schiff, *HaAretz*, September 5, 1985).

"We are on the path to a new round of the Jewish-Palestinian civil war"

Ze'ev Schiff

Postscript

"A reserve army unit stationed in Ramallah spent several days chasing down and shooting at kites painted with the colours of the Palestinian flag. The 'dangerous' kites were caught by the soldiers, confiscated from the children and burned. The soldiers were also ordered to patrol the Jalazon refugee camp and find graffiti slogans. Each time they found graffiti, the soldiers would ask a local resident for his ID papers and order him to erase the writing. Only after the wall was clean would they return the papers. None of the soldiers could speak Arabic, but the task was performed all the same — regardless of what the graffiti said" (*HaAretz*, August 26, 1985). ■

Barghouthi's "Steadfast Partridge": A Poem and a Poet

by Said al-Ghazali

Dr Abdel Latif Barghouthi is known as a poet only among his closest friends. To others he is known as an academic expert in Palestinian folklore, who has taught in many places both at home and abroad.

Yet, when he recited his poem written in 1962 and entitled "The Steadfast Partridge" at an evening session during the recent Islamic and Christian Heritage Conference at Tantur, the range of his knowledge and the beauty of his poetry was made clear. His poetry — based on a later reading of some of his poems — is an authentic portrait of Palestinian pain. The audience was touched not only by the rhythm of his voice, but by his poem's metaphors, folkloric references and rich language.

The Poem

"The Steadfast Partridge" is a poetic allegory of Palestinian history, both past and present. Barghouthi's style is rich with vivid description of nature and the psychological state. He has told the complete story of Palestinians past, present and future through the symbolic use of a partridge, hunter and snake.

The partridge is a wild bird Palestinian people like for its beautiful form, tender manner and strong attachment to the land. It rarely lands on trees, but spends most of its time walking about on the ground. Sometimes it is referred to as a wild chicken. It flies away only if there is a perceived danger.

In the poem, the partridge is a new symbol for peace based on freedom and justice, not surrender. The partridge in the poem has black eyes, its feathers soft and brown, its breast the colour of coral and its beak carved of amber. Its movement is slow and precise on the ground, yet quick and limber like a gazle in flight.

The partridge lives peacefully in the mountains where there are groves of fig and olive trees. Its life is portrayed as full of happiness and joy, closely associated to the good land. Its food is always available and its life secure. It never wishes to leave the area, until one day when life for the partridge changes. The sweet life and dreamlike existence are changed into a bitter nightmare.

By habit the partridge goes every day into the oak forest and watches the sunrise. It sings and calls for its mate to come. They together enjoy the symphony of love, building their nest near a rock and laying their eggs.

At this point in the poem, Barghouthi says "the partridge wants her offspring to be courageous and lovers of peace." The poet, therefore, gives a humanitarian aspect to his symbol. After all, the story of the partridge is a human story of freedom and the fight for freedom. In the poem, a strange hunter suddenly arrives carrying a gun in his hand and wearing a hat on his head and heavy boots on his feet. The poet explains that the gun is made in Washington, the boots in London and the hat in Paris.

The stranger kills a lot of partridges. And despite her natural timidity the mother partridge resists the hunter and slaps him in the face with her wings. The hunter shoots at her and wounds her. Some drops of her blood fall on the ground. The partridge survives and searches for a safer place to lick her wounds and recover. She chooses to hide in a bush.

In the poem the stranger then pursues the bird into the bush carrying a knife in one hand and a gun in the other. The partridge goes deeper into the forest where she suddenly sees a snake as "long as a rope." Its eye flashes and its fang drips with venom. The partridge finds itself caught between two dangers, the hunter and the snake. The partridge, though frightened, understands that the snake is as much a stranger as the hunter. The hunter in his attempt to stab the partridge is bitten by the snake on his nose. A battle between the hunter and snake ensues. The hunter cuts the snake and the snake bites him. They both fall dead on the ground. The partridge looks sadly upon the scene and sheds a tear. It flies away to the St. John's Bread Tree where it begins a new life, singing for its mate and continuing to live a life of productivity and peace.

The poem tells the symbolic story of the Palestinian people who have lost their freedom and their land. The Palestinian people in the poem are a tender, mild-hearted people who like peace and freedom. Yet, despite their mild manner, they refuse to surrender and resist the occupiers. The poet by using a new symbol for peace in the partridge sees peace as inseparable from freedom.

The hunter, of course, symbolises Zionism and the snake stands for the Arab nation. We see how the partridge succeeds in being true to her cause. She refused to surrender, to be killed, or to despair. She resisted until the moment of encounter between the snake and the hunter.

The Poet

When asked about his poem, Dr

Barghouthi said that what Palestinians are presently undergoing is full of pain and injury much like the poem. However, the poem does not stop at this stage. It tries to predict a peaceful future, an eventual victory of the partridge. Barghouthi believes such a victory is possible if the Arab nation unites and puts all its resources into battle. The victory will then surely come, he says.

After the hunter's death, in the poem, the partridge concerns itself with her nest, her love and building a new life. Perhaps the symbols of the partridge, hunter and snake the poet uses make the poem sound like a children's story. Yet, the sublime language and the folkloric references to village life in Palestine during the summer make the poem sound serious.

When asked about why he chose the partridge as a new symbol for peace Barghouthi said, "The partridge is connected with people's life in the summertime when they pick grapes and figs. It is also the bird considered most to have a strong bond with the land, and it is a beautiful and very meek, tender-hearted bird. When you look at the partridge, you become full of admiration."

Abdel Latif Barghouthi was born in Kufr Ein in the Ramallah district in 1928. His parents were village farmers.

Barghouthi, through his many years of study and work, has shown a lot of concern for popular Palestinian culture. He has studied the Arabic language and literature at the University of London. He wrote his doctorate on "The Popular Arab Songs in Palestine and Jordan." He later wrote a lot of articles on Palestinian, Iraqi and Libyan heritage. He started the "Heritage and Society" magazine in Ramallah.

Four months after the Israeli occupation in 1967, Barghouthi left the occupied territories to work with a UNESCO group assigned to lay the groundwork for an education college in Tripoli in Libya. From there he went to Bahrain to help develop teachers' training centres. In 1975, he returned to the West Bank to teach at Bir Zeit University as an associate professor in the Arabic language department.

In 1980 Barghouthi was on a sabbatical for two years with UNESCO in the Arab Emirates where he was working to develop their education. After his return in 1982, he was appointed deputy president of academic affairs at Bir Zeit University. He is now once again a lecturer in the Arabic department at Bir Zeit. He is married and has three sons and two daughters.

Barghouthi's publications are many and varied. He wrote two volumes on ancient Libyan history before the Ottoman period. He translated into Arabic a book entitled "A Challenge in Education Methods in Social Studies for Elementary Schools." He also translated his doctorate study originally written in English in 1963. He published popular tales from the Beni Zeid area in Arabic. His most recent work to be published by Bir Zeit is his book "The Palestinian Folkloric Songs of Atabe."

Barghouthi's career as a poet began when he was a child. However, he has not yet published much of his poetry. He believes: "Poetry must deal with [illegible] dom, peace, happiness and justice. People like poetry which talks about their own causes. In my poetry, I deal with such things."

Barghouthi also published an epic concerned with the history of Palestinians from the Canaanites until now, but he did not publish it under his own name. The epic, he said, criticised the so-called "great Arab revolution" by Sharif Hussein Ben Ali, grandfather of the Jordanian King Hussein.

Barghouthi does not look favourably on modern Palestinian poetry. "I do not like to permit young poets to write modern poetry without first practising the classic style and rhythm. Our poetic tradition began 1500 years ago and not in the midst of the twentieth century," he said. However, Barghouthi believes that modern poetry is a natural response to economic and social changes in our society. The free verse of modern poetry enables poets who are free from the restrictions of rhythm and rhyme to write comprehensively about topics they choose. However, the ease of vague and unclear symbols creates superficiality and weakness in imagery. Barghouthi also says there is a lack of good criticism for today's Arabic poetry.

Barghouthi criticised academic institutions for their role in promoting good literature. He said the universities are not doing their job. "What have the Arab language departments done to evaluate the literary movement? What effort have these departments made to plan activities? Nothing, he said. Barghouthi explained that there is a need to arrange for annual conferences on poetry, short stories and novels. The conferences must be organised well by experts who will prepare the programmes and judge literary contests. "If such a system is established," said Barghouthi, "we will have then a mature literary movement in a few years." ■

Palestinian papers focused this week on the volatile situation in the occupied territories, the deportation of 18 Palestinians and the surprise *rapprochement* between Syria and Jordan.

On the local front, Arab newspapers reported in top headlines the shooting of an Arab bus, the continuing arrests and the various other repressive measures carried out by the Israeli army. The deportation of 18 Palestinians who were recently released in the latest prisoner-exchange was given top coverage.

Local papers gave prominence to the meetings in Jeddah between the Jordanian and Syrian prime ministers.

The anniversary of the Sabra and Shatila massacres was commemorated by local papers with photos of the victims.

The Steadfastness of Burj al-Barajneh

While the attacks on Burj al-Barajneh have intensified, the Syrian regime has expressed its delight at the outcome of the 'dialogue' with the Phalangist delegation. The timing of the Syrian-Phalangist dialogue clarifies the position of Damascus. The Syrian insistence on supporting factionalism in Lebanon perpetrates the conflict until the last Lebanese Nationalist. For as long as sectarianism prevails, Syria will maintain its control in Lebanon. To the extent that the Palestinian camps contradict this Syrian goal, the regime will continue to strike these camps. And as long as our camps are steadfast, the Syrian goal will be shaken at its foundation.

AL FAJR
September 12

The Stalemate

It is no longer a secret that the peace efforts to solve the Palestinian problem are stalemated as a result of the American retraction. Worse still, the anti peace trends are dominant now in Washington.

The issue now is the return of Murphy to the area to achieve a breakthrough. Though this return is not an aim in itself, American sources are trying to portray it as such. Reports are leaked by Washington that Murphy's return has split the US administration. The leak, it seems, is meant to pressure the Arab side into more concessions.

The stalemate is accompanied by a growing beating of the war drums and violence in the Golan area where Syria and Israel are amassing troops. Despair will drive both parties to adopt the second option. They will find themselves drawn into confrontations and new wars that will cause more destruction. Since there is still hope, however bleak, and since the Arabs have offered all they can, the other side — the US and Israel — is required to learn from this and change their approach.

AL QUDS
September 13

The First... and Most Important Topic!

The topic that should preoccupy everyone, Jew or Arab, is finding a just solution to the Palestinian problem. At present, Israeli practices in the occupied territories, the violence and counter-violence have come to the surface. They have very wide coverage in the mass media at the expense of the real issue. The Palestinian cause is a political one and should be dealt with as such. The Arab-Israeli conflict has never been, and will never be, a racial one between Arabs and Jews. It is a struggle by the Palestinians to gain their rights as every other nation in the world. But Israel insists on denying them these rights. This is the core of the problem.

The recent developments threaten to turn the conflict into a racial one. And this is something that should be rejected by both Palestinians and Arabs. Therefore, the Israeli public opinion should move to condemn the recent measures and this new trend toward the Palestinians. In order to do so, the Palestinian cause should occupy the first priority. It has been proven that this cause cannot be liquidated either by the invasion of Lebanon or by a separate peace with Egypt. On the contrary, this has led to more prominence for the cause. So, will the Israeli leaders have the guts to admit this fact and act accordingly?

AL QUDS
September 14

The Deportation of the Released Prisoners

The deportation of 18 freed prisoners did not come as a surprise to anyone aware of Israeli policy. Israel has always been ready to take any action that serves its aims and interests even though such action might violate agreements it had signed. Violation of agreements and conventions is an Israeli habit. The deportation of the 18 prisoners is a violation of the agreement reached at the prisoner-exchange. The International Red Cross is responsible for putting an end to such violations.

AL MITHAQ
September 16

The Significance of the American Veto

The US previously used its veto for annual resolutions aimed at finding political solutions to the Palestinian problem. Such resolutions had nothing to do with the immediate suffering of the residents in the occupied territories. That is how the US used the veto to please Israel. But still it did so within the limits of what is reasonable. It supported some resolutions concerning the status of Jerusalem, the Golan and condemned more than once the Israeli practices in the occupied territories.

But it is strange and astonishing to find the US now uses the veto against a UN resolution condemning Israeli practices in the occupied territories. This new US veto reflects the degree of American subservience to Israel. Does this veto mean that the US approves of the new Israeli measures? Stranger still is the fact that the US veto comes at a time when the Arabs are betting on the American credibility in the peace efforts. It seems that the US is more concerned with appeasing Israel than anything else.

AL QUDS
September 16

Question Marks

As we write this we are expecting a statement at any moment denying reports about a possible meeting between Arafat, Habash and Hawatmeh in Algiers. Our worry does not spring from lack of interest in such a meeting which means the resumption of the Palestinian National dialogue. It does not also stem from lack of feeling that such a meeting is extremely necessary. The source of our worry is that some in the Palestinian arena are still reluctant to take a decisive stand toward fateful causes. They are still unable to admit their mistakes, and unable also to come down from the tops of the trees they climbed through hollow statements, and accusations.

We sincerely hope that the meeting takes place, because it will enhance the unity of our ranks.

AL SHA'AB
September 16

The Third Anniversary of Sabra and Shatila Massacre

Today is the third anniversary of the Sabra and Shatila massacre. Now Sabra has disappeared after a second and third massacre. Shatila is mostly ruined under the pretext of 'beautifying Beirut.' We are not going to grieve for either of the two camps. The massacres are still going on.

Instead we are driven by the assault of the aggressors to rebuild the camps and assert our presence in Arab Lebanon. The events that took place during the past three years emphasize that the massacres are not something haphazard. They are the result of the criminal approach of the Syrian regime in Lebanon. This approach seeks to destroy what Israel could not destroy... Ie, the presence of the PLO with its legitimate leadership. But the PLO has proven its ability to continue the march and confirm the presence of the Palestinian cause.

AL FAJR
September 17

THAFER MASRI WITHDRAWS RESIGNATION

West Bank Economy Suffers Under Increased Tax Collection

by Maher Abukhater

Thafer Masri, head of Nablus Chamber of Commerce, agreed last week to withdraw his resignation and return to office. Masri resigned last June 25 in protest of deteriorating economic conditions as a result of heavy taxes imposed on merchants in the largest West Bank city. The issue of heavy taxes threatens to become an explosive one throughout the occupied territories.

In an interview with *Al Fajr*, Masri said he had "no choice" but to resume his duties as head of the Chamber of Commerce. He said many merchants had pleaded with him to return to office, left vacant after his resignation. Masri said his decision to return did not mean conditions had changed. "The existing conditions have not changed. There is still an economic depression in the city," Masri explained. He is returning to try to work in congress with city merchants to do something about the situation, he said.

Nablus is the commercial centre of the Israeli-occupied West Bank. For many years tax officials have been pursuing its merchants, ordering them to pay huge amounts ranging in the thousands of Jordanian dinars. Strangely enough, the Israeli tax department requires Nablus merchants to pay taxes in the Jordanian dinar rather than the shaky Israeli currency. In addition, Nablus businesses have also been ordered to pay the Israeli military government an advance amount on estimated profit for the upcoming year.

Businessmen throughout the West Bank and Gaza complain that the Israelis have no set procedure in collecting taxes. Though the official rate is 30 percent of net profits, according to a Ramallah tax expert, many merchants complain that tax officials often enter their shops with no prior notice, write down an estimated figure of profits — often highly unrealistic and determine to tax them by that figure for the next several years. Merchants complained that business is never the same every year and therefore the tax rate should change according to the profit or loss margin in each fiscal year. Merchants also say it is hard for them to prove their income to the authorities because they operate on a more relaxed basis without the benefit of trained accountants.

Businesses in East Jerusalem are also particularly subject to tax officials' harassment. Last week tax officials raided several local businesses in East Jerusalem either confiscating goods and property of businessmen or ordering them to pay huge amounts within days. The Dajani Store, a small appliance shop just outside Damascus Gate, was raided and the owners ordered to pay IS23 million (approx. US 15,000 dollars), allegedly in overdue taxes. The amount due has doubled since last month because of Israel's soaring inflation rate, estimated so far at 200 percent.

Tax collectors also confiscated equipment in a small East Jerusalem snackbar, charging that the owner did not pay his taxes. The tax collectors have impounded a car owned by a Jerusalem taxi driver until he pays his taxes. Tax officials are also using another method to force local residents to pay huge taxes — they prevent them from leaving the country until the taxes are paid.

In its annual report for 1984, the Israeli 'civil administration' said the occupied territories are paying for themselves with taxes collected from the local population. The report said taxes increased by 39 percent in real terms in 1984.

The occupied territories, whose economies have been made dependent on the faltering Israeli one, have been facing deteriorating economic conditions over the past several years. With the soaring inflation rate and high cost of living in an area where income is very low, West Bank businesses have been unable to generate an active market.

In a related story, a report by the Israeli National Insurance Institute (NII) published last week said 25 percent of Israeli wage-earners now earn below the poverty line. According to September figures, the poverty line for a single monthly income is estimated at IS192,875, (US 115 dollars) and for a family of four at IS493,760 (US 300 dollars).

Army

Continued from page 1

raising their hands and keeping their faces to the wall. They were often thrown to the ground while being thoroughly searched. Observers say soldiers often stepped on people while searching them. In one reported case, an 80-year-old man was forced to stand with his hands in the air for two hours.

Munther Abdel Aziz

Also in Ramallah, paratroopers broke into the Rukab ice cream parlour September 15 and ordered all the customers to search each other carefully and to memorise one another's identity card numbers. One person who tried to escape the harassment was shot and injured. A similar search was conducted in many other coffee shops in the city.

Darwish Dordor, a city resident, told the left-wing Israeli weekly *Koterit Rashit*, that soldiers "sometimes put your ID on your shoulder and order you not to let it fall off. In some other cases, soldiers just tear it up and tell you to go and get a new one."

Reports from the West Bank town of Jenin are even more serious.

In Jenin, six shops were ordered shut September 14 for two months after an Israeli office in the vicinity was stoned. Reports say youths have been ordered to take off their trousers and walk around in front of others. Some have been ordered to bark like dogs, while others have been led away to a nearby park where they are beaten severely.

Reports from Gaza indicate that the Strip has never seen such large army units, not since the early days of the occupation. Reports are that all sorts of embarrassing acts are being practised against the population. A hand grenade was tossed at military headquarters in Jabalya refugee camp. Soldiers opened fire and the whole area was cordoned off and a number of youths arrested. Four shops were also shut in the area. Sohli Audi, a Jerusalemite merchant, was also quoted in *Koterit Rashit* as saying that he was in Gaza on business and was stopped in the street by the army. They ordered him to present his ID. He said that even though he was from Jerusalem, he was forced to dance in the street. "They just took my ID and said if I did not dance, they would not give it back to me." He also said he was ordered to bray like a donkey.

Gaza notables, sent a protest cable to the Israeli Minister of Defence demanding he stop these provocative acts. The wave of popular protest moved on to other areas as well. In Nablus, a sit-in took place for two hours the Red Cross office September 14, more than 50 women related to recently detained youths protested the administrative detentions and other restrictive measures. They also cabled the UN Secretary General and some international committees demanding their interference to stop and abolish such acts.

A demonstration was organised by the Committee in Solidarity with Bir Zeit in front of the Israeli Prime Minister's office September 17 in which they denounced the recent Israeli measure. Over 10 Israelis of the newly formed "Down with the Occupation" group also held a similar demonstration in front of the Israeli premier's house protesting the practices of settlers against Arab residents and other restrictive measures.

Palestinians Meet AJC Delegation

Palestinian personalities from the occupied territories met September 12 with a visiting delegation from the American Jewish Congress (AJC) at the American Consulate in Jerusalem. The informal meeting, requested by the AJC, was to exchange views on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

According to Hanna Siniora, responsible editor of *Al Fajr* newspaper and one of 20 other Palestinians present, the AJC delegates were clearly informed that a Mideast peace settlement cannot be reached without the Palestinian Liberation Organisation. "We told them if there is to be peace, the two main parties — the PLO and Israel — should be present at the negotiation table," Siniora disclosed after meeting with AJC members. He urged the AJC to press US Secretary of State George Shultz to rejuvenate the peace process begun when Jordan and the PLO agreed last February 11 to form a joint delegation as part of a team to negotiate with the US and later Israel. The Jordanian-Palestinian team was supposed to meet US Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy during his visit to the region last month. The meeting reportedly did not take place because of pressure from Israel which refuses to meet the Palestinian delegates.

Siniora, whose name has been mentioned as a member of the Jordanian-Palestinian negotiating team, rebuked the AJC delegation for not meeting PLO leaders while in Amman, Jordan. He said the AJC "should have take the opportunity to meet top Palestinian leadership because then they could have really formed a balanced idea by hearing all sides."

The Middle East visit by the AJC, considered a fact-finding mission, was strongly criticised by Israeli Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir. The criticism came in spite of AJC conviction that the PLO should be excluded from any peace talks, a conviction that coincides with Israel's anti-PLO stand.

In an interview with *The Jerusalem Post* published September 13, Shamir attacked the AJC as a "peanut-sized organisation," which "meddles" in Israeli politics without being authorised to do so. "Who elected them? Who empowered them to enter into negotiations on the Israeli-Arab conflict? They merely serve as instruments in the hands of the Arabs to score points against us," Shamir was quoted as saying about the AJC's tour last week of Egypt, Jordan, the occupied West Bank and Israel.

"*Al Fajr* Arabic daily published September 14 an interview with delegation member Theodore Mann, who is also president of the AJC, in which he expressed strong opposition to talking with PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat. Mann praised King Hussein of Jordan and Egypt's President Husni Mubarak as "peacemakers." However, he criticised the joint Palestinian-Jordanian peace initiative as "not leading to any result but taking a long time which is not in the interest of peace." Mann wants Hussein to enter peace talks with Israel without PLO participation. Asked about his ability to collect the facts regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict without meeting all parties to it, Mann stressed that "Our position regarding Arafat and his organisation is firm. It is possible that if I wanted to be a fair judge, I would need to meet with Arafat; but I am not willing to be in the same room with this man. You can consider me irrational, but this is our firm position."

The AJC delegation of 20 members representing various Jewish institutions in the US left Israel last weekend reportedly "pleased" with their meeting with the West Bank Palestinian personalities. The West Bankers included such figures as Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij, Hebron dismissed but Acting Mayor Mustafa Natshe, Nablus entrepreneur Basil Kannan, Hebron's Fayez Qawasmeh and Khalid Asseileh.

Before arriving in Israel, the AJC delegation met Mubarak in Cairo and Hussein in Amman. They reported to Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres on their meeting with the Arab heads of state. Their meeting with the Palestinian personalities was the last scheduled before their departure to the US. This meeting was the first ever between the AJC and Palestinians from the occupied territories.

Jordan and Syria Make Up

For the first time in seven years, the prime ministers of Syria and Jordan met and embraced September 17 in a much-publicised reconciliation. The friendly exchange between the two rival nations took place in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia under the auspices of the Arab League Reconciliation Committee and Saudi Prince Abdullah, a member of the committee.

Little information about the closed session between the Syrian and Jordanian officials has leaked to the press. After the meeting, which was attended by observers from Saudi Arabia and Tunisia, Prince Abdullah was quoted as saying that the two sides agreed to cease hostile propaganda campaigns, ease travel restrictions and improve economic ties between the two countries.

Hani al-Hassan, a member of the Fatah Central Committee and a political adviser to PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat, was also in Jeddah and held unilateral meetings with the Jordanian and Saudi officials. Experts believe that Hassan's presence in Jeddah was aimed at making sure the *rapprochement* between Syria and Jordan was not at the expense of the Palestinians.

September 11, 1985

SETTLER STORMS MOSQUE

An armed Israeli settler stormed the new mosque in the centre of the northern West Bank town of Qalqilya during afternoon prayers. The intruder managed to enter the mosque after removing his kippa (skullcap). Border policemen chased him away.

GAZA MAN GETS LIFE

Ibrahim Jaber Hamad al-Raqab, 30, of Bani Suheilah in the Gaza Strip, was sentenced by an Israeli military court to life imprisonment on charges of carrying out a series of anti-Israeli attacks. The military prosecution had originally demanded that the court sentence Raqab to death. The demand was dropped after the three judges failed to unanimously agree on the death sentence.

Raqab was charged, among other things, with membership in a Palestinian organisation, assassinating a number of suspected collaborators, planting a bomb in Tel Aviv which injured four Israelis, planting a bomb in Khan Younis which injured an army officer and four soldiers, tossing a bomb at a military patrol in Khan Younis and throwing another bomb at an army vehicle in the center of Gaza.

HIGH COURT DISCUSSES DEPORTATIONS

The Israeli High Court looked into appeals by 14 West Bank residents facing expulsion for alleged anti-Israeli activities. Among them were three men from Nablus — Amin Maqboul, Bahjat al-Jayousi and Walid Nazzal.

PETROL BOMB IN GAZA

A petrol bomb was thrown at an Israeli military vehicle as it drove on the eastern road in Gaza. The area was sealed off as troops searched for the attackers. Several passersby were held for questioning.

September 12, 1985

SHU'FAT MAN SHOT

A 22-year-old man from Shu'fat, north of Jerusalem, was shot in the leg as he was sitting on the balcony of his home, Israel Radio reported. The man, Ishaq Mohammed Da'is, was hospitalised at Hadassah Hospital. He told police investigators that the shots were fired at him from a passing car.

EGGED BUS STONED

An Israeli Egged bus *en route* from West Jerusalem to the settlement of Neve Ya'coub was stoned as it drove through the Arab neighbourhood of Beit Hanina, Israel Radio reported. An undisclosed number of settlers aboard the bus were wounded and extensive damage was caused to the bus, the radio report said. The wounded were taken to Hadassah Hospital for treatment.

KALANDIA ENTRANCES BLOCKED

Israeli troops sealed off the entrances to Kalandia refugee camp on the Jerusalem-Ramallah road after Arab youths heaved stones at an Israeli vehicle, shattering its windshield. Several residents were detained for questioning.

In another incident, troops imposed a curfew on al-Ama'ri refugee camp outside Ramallah after assailants hurled stones at an army patrol and an Israeli bus. No one was hurt and no damage was done. Soldiers detained scores of Arab residents for questioning.

HEBRON CURFEW LIFTED

Israeli military authorities lifted the nine-day curfew from the inner city of Hebron after blocking two of its main entrances. The curfew on the area known as the Casabah was imposed September 3 after assailants knifed an Israeli soldier to death and wounded another. Reinforced contingents of paratroop and infantry troops will continue to patrol the city to ensure calm, Israel Radio reported.

ISLAMIC U. EMPLOYEE DETAINED

An Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced an employee at the Islamic University in Gaza to 4 months in prison and 8 months suspended. Shukri Mahmoud Ibrahim al-Weshah, from al-Burelj camp, was charged with security offences. The court also sentenced a Najah student to 2 months in prison and a IS50,000 fine. Sa'di Khaled Uthman, a resident of Rafah in the Gaza Strip, was charged with possessing leaflets.

TULKARM YOUTHS SENTENCED

Three youths from Tulkarm refugee camp were sentenced to various prison terms by an Israeli military court in Nablus on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation and hurling petrol bombs at Israeli vehicles. The three are: Ziad Ibrahim Dmeiri, 3 years in prison and 2 years suspended; Ibrahim Hamdan Salem, 4 years in prison and 3 years suspended and Abdel Salam Amara, 4 years in prison and 3 years suspended.

The court also sentenced a fourth resident of Tulkarm refugee camp, Diab Hussein Amarah, to 3.5 years in prison on charges of participating in the Lebanon war. Yusef Mansour, from the neighbouring Nur Shams refugee camp, was sentenced by the same court to 5 years in prison on security charges.

6 JENIN SHOPS CLOSED

The Israeli army imposed a curfew on part of Jenin after youths hurled stones at an Israeli building in the town. Six shops in the immediate vicinity of the attack were ordered closed for 3 days.

September 13, 1985

CURFEW LIFTED

Israeli military authorities lifted the two-day curfew from al-Ama'ri refugee camp near Ramallah after closing the camp's main entrance with barbed wire. The curfew was clamped on al-Ama'ri after local youths hurled stones at passing Israeli vehicles.

In another development, Israeli troops imposed a curfew on a street in Balata camp after an army foot patrol was stoned. Dozens of residents were rounded up for questioning.

EX-PRISONER DETAINED

Israel's military authorities in the Gaza Strip detained Kamel Sabeq Zu'rub, 35, who was released in last May's prisoner-exchange with the PFLP-GC. Zu'rub, a resident of Khan Younis, was imprisoned for six months under administrative detention orders.

50 SHOPS IN GAZA REOPEN

Israeli authorities permitted 50 Arab shops in Palestine Square in the centre of Gaza to reopen. The shops were ordered closed after an Israeli driver was knifed in the area on September 5.

HABLAH YOUTH SENTENCED

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Basem Yusef Mohammed al-Sha'er of Hablah village in the Qalqilya area to 10 months in prison and 20 months suspended. Basem was charged with membership in a Palestinian organisation and incitement.

September 14, 1985

MILITARY HQ ATTACKED

A hand grenade was thrown at the Israeli military government headquarters in Jabalya refugee camp in the Gaza Strip. Soldiers responded by opening fire in all directions. The area was cordoned off, a number of youths were rounded up for questioning and four grocery shops in the immediate vicinity of the attack were ordered closed.

TOP: A young butcher is led away for questioning in Ramallah. Soldiers confiscated his carving knife. MIDDLE: A soldier searches the pockets of a Palestinian man outside Ramallah. BOTTOM: An army jeep picks its way through al-Ama'ri refugee camp./John Egan photos.

September 15, 1985

ARMY PATROL STONED

Stones were hurled at an Israeli army patrol near Qadourah refugee camp in the Ramallah area. Troops blocked off the main entrance to the camp and conducted an intensive search for attackers. No arrests were reported.

MILITARY VEHICLE FIRE-BOMBED

A petrol bomb was tossed at an Israeli military vehicle as it drove west of Khan Younis in the Gaza Strip. Troops sealed off the area and detained a number of residents. No injuries were reported.

OLIVE TREES SABOTAGED

Unidentified saboteurs destroyed about 100 olive trees on al-Kuram mountain in the village of al-Zawyah near Nablus. Police are reportedly investigating the incident.

NABLUS EMPLOYEES TO RECEIVE WAGES

The joint Palestinian-Jordanian committee has decided to pay salaries to 350 employees of the Nablus municipality who have been on strike since the Israelis took over the municipality two years ago.

TULKARM SCHOOL SHUT

Israeli military authorities decided to close the Industrial School in Tulkarm for five days on the pretext that students from the school hurled stones at passing Israeli vehicles.

BURQA UNDER CURFEW

For the second time in a week, the Israeli army clamped a curfew on Burqa village in the

Al Darb editor-in-chief Hanna Hallaq talks to journalists holding a two-hour solidarity sit-in at the newspaper office September 18/AO photo.

Nablus district after an army patrol was stoned in the village. Residents aged 15-40 were rounded up in the village square for questioning.

September 16, 1985

BOULUS VISITS DETAINEES

Attorney Jawad Boulus visited a number of administrative detainees held at Jneid prison in Nablus. Boulus said more than 80 Palestinians had been jailed under administrative detention orders over the past two weeks. Seventy of the detainees are being held at Jneid prison, while the others are held at the Gaza prison.

2 REFUGEE CAMPS UNDER CURFEW

Israeli authorities clamped a curfew on al-Ama'ri refugee camp near Ramallah after youths hurled stones at an Israeli patrol. Soldiers conducted house-to-house searches and detained dozens of teenagers.

In Jalazon refugee camp on the Ramallah-Nablus road, troops imposed a curfew following stone-throwing attacks on Israeli vehicles. An 18-year-old resident of the camp, Said Khamis, was severely beaten by soldiers. He was taken to hospital where he was reported in a coma.

NEW HEJIRA YEAR

Muslims today celebrate the new year of the Hejira — 1406 (the year of the Muslim era beginning with the emigration of the Prophet Mohammed from Mecca to Medina in 622 A.D.).

September 17, 1985

CURFEW IN BALATA

Israeli military authorities imposed a curfew on Balata refugee camp outside Nablus following a spree of stone-throwing attacks on Israeli vehicles.

STONES THROWN AT ISRAELIS

A 10-year-old Israeli child was wounded when stones were hurled at a group of Israelis near Ein Silwan in Jerusalem, Israel Radio reported. No other details were given.

In another incident, an Israeli bus passing the Kalandia refugee camp on the Ramallah-Jerusalem road was stoned. A number of side windows were shattered, but no one was hurt.

2 BOMBS FOUND NEAR HEBRON

Two explosive charges were found and safely dismantled near Atniel settlement south of Hebron, Israeli military sources said. The explosives were discovered by one of the residents of the settlement.

GAZA MARKET RAIDED

Israeli troops raided the currency market in Gaza, firing gunshots into the air. Residents were rounded up and forced to lie down on the street for no reason.

HEBRON TRAVEL BAN

Residents over 30 of the Hebron area will be permitted to travel to Jordan via the bridges, informed sources reported. A travel ban was imposed on all residents of the Hebron area about two weeks ago after a soldier was stabbed to death in Hebron's Old City.

GAZANS CABLE RABIN

A number of leading personalities in Gaza cabled the Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin urging him to put an end to provocative measures by the army against residents of the Gaza Strip. They said the soldiers' behaviour in the streets had become intolerable.

JENIN WOMEN PROTEST DETENTIONS

The Womens Committee for Social Work in Jenin staged a sit-in strike at the Red Cross offices in the town to protest the administrative detentions of dozens of Palestinians.

SOLDIER INJURED BY STONES

Israeli soldiers raided a number of houses and fired gunshots into the air in Dheisheh refugee camp after local youths hurled stones at a foot patrol in the camp. One soldier was reportedly wounded.

Hamdi Mahmoud Badran lies in hospital after being injured by soldiers this week.

Calendar

September 26

Music: Cello and Piano Recital by Zvi Harell — cello, and Marina Bondarenko — piano. Works by Beethoven, Schumann, Brahms. At the Lutheran Redeemer Church, Jerusalem. 8:30 pm. Telephone: 282543.

September 27, 28

Theatre: *Sharshouk.* A play for old and young, performed by children from Jerusalem. Written and directed by Radi Shehadeh. In Arabic, English translation available. At the Nuzha/al-Hakawati Theatre, Jerusalem. 7:30 pm. Telephone: 280967, 288189.

September 27-28

Conference: The Middle East Institute's annual conference in Washington, "Seeking New Paths Through the Middle East Labyrinth."

September 27 — January 5

Exhibition: An exhibition of Islamic metalwork from the 7th through the 17th centuries will be on display at the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington.

To All Advertising Agencies
From AL FAJR newspaper

SUBJECT: Information about AL FAJR (English) weekly

AL FAJR English weekly newspaper was established in 1980 as a supplement of the Arabic daily AL FAJR.

The English weekly AL FAJR has been growing ever since. Today AL FAJR reaches nearly 10,000 readers, many of them libraries and institutions who display the paper to a much larger constituency. Immediately after its publication in Jerusalem Thursday night proofs of the paper are transferred to New York by plane. In New York the paper is reprinted and distributed to subscribers within a very short period of time.

The breakdown of AL FAJR readers by country is as follows:

2,000 readers in Jerusalem and Israel (mostly sales from newsstands and subscriptions).
2,000 subscribers in Europe, Asia and Japan.
6,000 subscribers in the United States.

The vast majority of AL FAJR readers are intellectuals, politicians and generally people strongly interested in the situation in the Middle East. A large number of these readers make frequent visits to the area and therefore would be target people for ads concerning travel arrangements, airplane tickets, hotels and restaurants in the area. A number of the European subscribers are members of solidarity groups and make frequent visits to the area on student passes. Advertising for low price housing in Jerusalem and the area would bring results.

A short advertising campaign by Bir Zeit University for a summer course has been successful, according to university officials. University officials were able to register 33 students to the summer course this year. Last year only 3 registered for the course.

PRICE LIST

Inside pages	**US$10 per column inch.**
Back page	**US$15 per column inch.**

Special reductions for charitable and other non-profit organizations. Long term ads — reduced prices.

THE COURAGE TO CARE

Over half of the four million Palestinians are registered refugees, with as many as 764,000 still living in 61 refugee camps dispersed throughout the Middle East.

Political issues aside, these forgotten, homeless, and dispossessed Palestinians—men, women and children, need your urgent support.

United Palestinian Appeal, Inc. is taking the lead in helping to alleviate the suffering and pain of these people by providing them with adequate health care, housing, education and other social and humanitarian services.

We appeal to you to help us achieve these goals. Your investment, no matter how modest, in relieving human suffering, is never too little or too late.

You Can Make A Difference

Send your tax-deductible contributions to:
United Palestinian Appeal, Inc. • 2100 M St., NW, Suite 409
Washington, DC 20037 • (202) 659-5097

Other
Please place my gift for:
☐ Health Care and Services
☐ Community Development
☐ Educational projects
☐ Wherever the need is greatest

UPA is a non-political, non-profit, humanitarian organization dedicated to raising funds for relief and development projects in the Palestinian refugee camps and the diaspora.

Palestinians from US Find Readjustment Hard

Palestinian students come back from the USA to study Arabic and Palestinian culture and heritage. This photo shows a performance at the Friends' Girls School in Ramallah.

by Amal Hassan

The poor, the tired and the huddled masses still flow to the United States. Perhaps more than ever before the US symbolizes "land of opportunity" to millions of immigrants from all over the world. Among those are hundreds of thousands of Palestinians desiring a slice of the American Dream, what they believe to be a happier and richer life. Yet there are also those returning to Palestine.

Many Palestinians, particularly the young people, have become obsessed with the idea of going to America, a land which the older generation has dubbed "the land of evil." Sophia Shikukani, 53, from Lydda has a son working in the US, but she still maintains that "America is a land of sin." She says, "People are more prone to do evil over there because they are exposed to evil influences such as gambling, drinking, and women. Here we don't have to worry about those things as much."

Regardless of what the older generation thinks, the young ones are leaving for America. Once Palestinians do embark for the US they go to different cities dependent on the town in Palestine they come from. Palestinians from towns in the West Bank as close together as the twin cities of al-Bireh and Ramallah may go to American cities very far apart. For example, Betunia residents go to Chicago, Beit Hanina residents are mostly found in Detroit, al-Bireh residents go to Cleveland and Ramallah residents live in San Francisco. Beitin residents can be found in North Carolina. Many go to New York, the unique mixture of almost every nationality in the world. When Palestinians go to cities where they can find other Palestinians, especially ones from their hometown, they can create a hometown atmosphere.

The majority of Palestinians living in America return to Palestine at some time in their lives for various reasons. It so happens that while one generation chooses to leave Palestine, fortunately another generation chooses to return. Palestinians approaching middle-age often decide to return as their children approach their teens. They make this choice so that they can teach them Arabic and acquaint or re-acquaint them with their Palestinian heritage. Often these same middle-aged parents return to the US with their families when their children become of age to enter college. Miriam Issa of Deir Dibuan explained: "My three children have almost become of age to enter college and they want to go to colleges in the US. I can't let them go on their own, so we all have to relocate." Others leave because they can no longer afford the high cost of living in the occupied territories and they want to go to the US to make some money for a comfortable retirement. Another group, the senior citizens, comes home after more than decades spent in the US so they can retire and spend their last years with friends and family.

There is a significant number of Palestinians that come back only for summer vacations and they can be broken down into several groups. Some come back to their homeland for the sole purpose of showing off the money they made in the US. This is perhaps most often demonstrated by building huge villas these people have no intention of living in. Just look around in practically any West Bank city and one will find dozens of newly-built homes which are locked up over an indefinite period while their owners are in the US.

While some are building houses, others are selling houses and land they have inherited from their parents. Then we have the group of serious investors. They come back home every couple of years and invest the money they have made in the US in their own country. Ghazi Abdel-Karim is one such person. "I came back this summer to invest my money here, to build several houses and rent them out, and to also buy a few pieces of land," he said. "I would much rather invest my money in my own country than in the US." Building seems to be the biggest attraction for investors followed by land and stocks.

Of course, then there is the group of people that come here neither to buy and sell, nor to invest but to get married. Men come from the US to marry a girl from their hometown and girls vice versa. However, parents have become a bit apprehensive about the previous practice of letting their daughters get married to anyone who will take them to the US because of all the sin they believe is present in that country. Many believe that if their daughters marry someone who takes them to the US, he will automatically cheat on her and they will soon after get a divorce. Actually, although divorce among Arab-Americans is on the rise, it is still much lower than the national divorce rate. Girls who come from the US to get married constantly face the problem of getting marriage proposals for the sole purpose of providing the husband with American citizenship. Many girls have fallen into this trap and have divorced less than one year after their marriage, only after having given her husband US residency papers.

Palestinians returning to their country from the US face several difficulties. America has made many Palestinians forget their homeland and assume the identity of an American. When these people come back to their country they are referred to as Americans rather than Palestinians. This is just one of the problems Palestinians must face once they decide to come back.

Susie Ayesh, 38, of Beit Hanina, chose to move back to her homeland two years ago after years spent in the US. "I came back so I can teach my two kids (who are students at the Friends School in Ramallah) the religion, language, and tradition of the Palestinians," she said. One of the biggest problems she says she faced was re-adjusting to the people and the ways of life following the Muslim tradition. "In the US we didn't have to worry about these things; but here the people are more old-fashioned and there are more ties to the old tradition," she said. However, she is quick to point out that coming here has been the best thing for her and her kids. "Here we are all one of a kind. We have the same minds and ideas. There you have different rules and ideas and it's a whole different ball game," she said.

Perhaps one of the biggest problems that Palestinians who are American citizens face once they come back is with their visas. Because they are citizens of the US they are only permitted to stay here for a limited time. These Palestinian families must leave the country every year to renew their visas if they do not want to run the risk of being caught. Sometimes the Israelis refuse to renew their visas. This is a method used to kick out all the Palestinians from their homeland, and, sadly, it seems to be working effectively. This is becoming a major cause of American-Palestinians leaving the country. They believe that it is simply too much of a hassle to stay. One US-Palestinian in al-Bireh said, "To be perfectly honest, renewing my visa has begun to cause some problems. I've been living here for the past five years and I was caught twice for not renewing my visa so I try to leave the country every year. However, I am not sure that I can afford to leave in future years, so I guess if I get caught again I'll have to leave permanently."

With all the difficulties that coming back to this country might create, it doesn't seem to be slowing down the rate of Palestinians returning. As a result of the large number of Palestinian-Americans coming back to this country with their children, officials at the Friends Girls School in Ramallah say they are completely full for the next school year and that students who need classes taught in English will have to go to schools elsewhere.

After speaking to many families who have come back from the US one thing seems clear; they say to those thinking of doing the same, "it's the greatest idea." Palestinians returning say their children will learn their religion, language and traditions. They won't go to the US and melt in a melting pot; they'll still hang on to their culture.

On thing Palestinians must also keep in mind is that Palestinian migration to the US and other countries is exactly what the Israelis want. They want to make living in the West Bank so difficult that Palestinians themselves choose to leave. Then they can have the Palestinian land without the Palestinian people. Despite this threat, many Palestinians are choosing to stay and those who have left before are coming back. This is their fight. They will not surrender. ■

Amal Hassan of al-Bireh, served this summer as a student volunteer at Al Fajr English Weekly. In September she will begin her freshman year at Riverside Community College in Riverside, California. She intends to major in journalism.